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ABSTRACT

The Commission on the Status of Women Division of the proceedings contains the following 6 papers: "Relationship Content in Four Men's and Women's Magazines" (Alexis Zachary and Bryan Denham); "Mind the Gender Gap: Gender Differences in Motivation to Contribute Online Content" (Cindy Royal); "Peering through the Glass Ceiling of the Boys' Club: Examining How Masculinity Affects Journalism and Mass Communication Education" (Billy Wooten); "From the Cradle to the Grave: The Unfulfilled Bill of Rights Reflected in the Hidden Dialogue of 'Everywoman'" (Beverly G. Merrick); "The Making of Dr. Laura Schlessinger" (Phylis Johnson and Max V. Grubb); and "On Equal Footing: The Framing of Sexual Difference in 'Runner's World'" (Marie Hardin, Julie Dodd, Jean Chance and Vicki Wuertz). (RS)

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RELATIONSHIP CONTENT IN FOUR MEN'S AND WOMEN'S MAGAZINES

By

Alexis Zachary
Department of Speech and Communication Studies
Clemson University
600 Chick Springs Road
Greenville, SC 29609
(864) 313-7436
azachary@alumni.clemson.edu

And

Bryan Denham
Department of Speech and Communication Studies
Clemson University
412 Strode Tower
Clemson, SC 29634
(864) 656-6392
bdenham@clemson.edu

Paper presented to the Commission on the Status of Women at the 2002 National Conference of the Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication, Miami, Florida.

Alexis Zachary is a recent graduate of the Department of Speech and Communication Studies at Clemson University, where Bryan Denham is an assistant professor.

RELATIONSHIP CONTENT IN FOUR MEN'S AND WOMEN'S MAGAZINES

Abstract

This paper discusses the portrayal of intimate relationships in men's and women's magazines. The authors performed a content analysis on relationship articles in two women's magazines, *Cosmopolitan* and *Glamour*, and two men's magazines, *Maxim* and *Playboy*, from September, October and November 2001. The articles were examined for their communication content, relationship aspects, sexual content, the author's gender and pro-man or pro-woman slant. The results indicated that the portrayal of relationships does indeed differ in men's and women's magazines. While the majority of the relationship articles found in both men's and women's magazines were similar in communication content, the magazines differed in sexual content and language content, with the men's magazines slated toward more sexual content and vulgar language. Yet, of all the articles analyzed, almost all were pro-woman in content. Thus, while the relationship content did differ on certain aspects, some similarities were found.

Introduction

From persuading public opinion and fostering public debate to offering role models and setting the public agenda, it is evident that mass media have effects not only on society in general but also in individuals' lives. When one thinks of the prevalence of media in everyday lives, it is no wonder that the question arises as to the effects on one's attitudes and behavior, and especially on one's intimate relationships.

With a 50% divorce rate and more couples seeking counseling, it is little wonder that people are looking for a culprit in relational disasters. While looking at media as a culprit, individuals are also looking to media outlets for advice on their relational situations. Magazines line the checkout aisles at grocery stores and bookstores with catchy cover stories such as "The 7 Secrets of Soul-Mate Couples" (Knadler, 2001) and "Tighter Love: 5 Magic Words That Will Totally Fuse the Two of You" (Beland, 2001).

In beginning this study, the authors expect that women's magazines will focus on manipulation and intimacy games, with subjects such as becoming closer in a relationship and turning a friendship into a love relationship. Furthermore, they believe that men's magazines, such as *Maxim,* will tend to focus on the opposite, including topics such as such as how to get what one wants out of a relationship and still maintain time for himself and his friends. With such a difference in the magazines' content, the authors believe that stereotypes of women as being calculating, needy and emotionally demanding will be enforced. Eva Illouz (1991) said, "Men are more likely than women to view their relationships as play and relaxation. This implies that men and women view their emotional lives according to contradictory discursive logic. Because women are in

charge of the emotional labor, they may be at a disadvantage to the extent that they assume a greater share in the relational process than men" (p.232).

Media indeed emphasize certain aspects of relationships according to the audience that they are targeting. By analyzing three months worth of *Cosmopolitan*, *Glamour*, *Maxim* and *Playboy*, the authors seek to find just what relational aspects men's and women's magazines emphasize. They look at communication content, relational aspects, sexual content, language content and article slant (pro-man or pro-woman) to grasp the gendered perspectives on relationships.

Review of Literature

One study performed by Illouz (1991) set out to examine the portrayal of love in women's magazines. Although the study was done in 1988, it offers many insights to love and marriage in these magazines. Illouz chose to analyze all of the articles pertaining to love and marriage in *Cosmopolitan* and *Woman* from January through June 1988 because the two magazines treat romantic relationships more frequently and in greater depth than other women's magazines (Illouz, 1991). She also looked at articles dealing with romantic relations in *Self*, *New Woman* and *Harper's Bazaar*. After examining 35 articles, she defined their main themes, the metaphors by which romantic love is constructed, and the normative logic underlying the romantic discourses. Three types of articles emerged: prescriptive articles, normative articles and analytical articles. Prescriptive articles were ones that gave recipes for such goals as attaining a successful relationship and obtaining a date. Normative articles involved material on romance standards, and analytical articles examined the meaning of love. Illouz discovered that women's magazines tend to label emotions. They use terms such as "love at first sight,"

"crush," "lust," or "sexual desire" to describe the physiological response that occurs with attraction. Illouz said that women's magazines "constantly attempt to deconstruct the labels appending to the concept of romantic love" (p.243). This is an attempt to modify readers' behavior by showing them that they have wrongly labeled their emotions. Naming of emotions and the possibility of mislabeling increases one's self-consciousness and makes her aware of the classification of emotions.

The overall findings of Illouz's study were that the women's magazines characterized love as an intense force, as magic and as hard work. The most occurring finding was love as an intense force, as an all-consuming passion. "Love as magic" indicated that it was viewed as a sweeping power and fostered what sociologists call the "anti-institutional" definitions of the self, which include spontaneity, quest of an authentic self, creativity and the unconstrained expression of one's emotions (Lears, 1981). This contrasts with the traditionally held idea of love bound by the rules of Christianity and devotion (Illouz, 1991). Hence the portrayal of love and relationships in women's magazines differs from the traditional notions of society.

While women's magazines have long taken the relational center stage, men's magazines are certainly increasing in their relational content. In one qualitative study, Featherstone (1998) examined the advent of the "Cosmo Guy." She said that men's magazines are increasingly serving as "field guides to the rocky terrain of heterosexual mating and relating" (p.63). "Ask Jimmy the Bartender," a *Men's Health* feature, offers men advice on "women, sex, and other stuff that screws up men's lives" (p.63). Featherstone also cites *Details*, a magazine similar to *Maxim* that appeals to the "Cosmo Guy." The magazine instructed men on how to write a winning love letter (concluding

with a reminder to make sure it's welcome -- John Hinckley to Jodie Foster being the classic "Don't"). She also notes that many of these men's magazines sex and relationship articles are written by women (1998). Featherstone's analysis is useful to this study because it points at the cut-and-dry, sex-based attitudes that some men's magazines are taking toward relationships.

McRobbie (1983) also conducted a study focusing on relationship aspects by examining a British teen magazine, *Jackie*. In the magazine, she found a system of messages that promoted severely restrictive ideologies of femininity. Heterosexual romance was explicitly defined as the central goal for adolescent girls, and girls were expected to submit, or even aspire, to male domination. The research produced a startling, yet predictable finding given the stereotypical relationship roles.

McRobbie (1994), however, followed up this first study more than a decade later by studying other British girl's magazines and found that the situation was considerably better than before. She found the magazines had a more feminist view of girls as strong and autonomous, in which they were no longer constructed to be "slaves to love" (McRobbie, 1994). The adaptations that British teen magazines underwent as a result of changing social and gender roles, however, were not evident in the U.S. media aimed at adolescent girls.

A content analysis of three popular American teen magazines, *Sassy*, *Seventeen* and *Young and Modern*, revealed that these publications "reinforced an underlying value that the road to happiness is attracting males for successful heterosexual life by way of physical beautification" (Evans, Rutberg, et al., 1991, p.110). The researchers concluded that *Young and Modern* was detrimental to young girls' ideas of intimate relationships.

The conclusion of the study was that the mediated texts, notably teen magazines, have no potential for contesting or changing gendered social relations and, indeed, actually contribute to the patriarchal control of girls' sexual lives (Durham, 1998). Media thus help shape one's capacity for and attitudes toward intimate relationships.

Another current example of media's portrayal of intimate relationships is a relatively new television show entitled "Change of Heart." This show features a couple that is undergoing problems in the relationship. The show then finds other partners that they believe would better suit each partner. After sending each partner on a date with another person, the show then brings the couple out together, with the other individuals and a national audience watching, and has them decide individually on the spot whether they would like to stay together or have a "change of heart." Rosenzweig (1999) said, "This is a show in which human interactions are taken fairly lightly, looks are overvalued, women treat each other with suspicion and cattiness, men are jealous and stubborn, and everyone is critical" (p.46). She goes on to say in her *American Prospect* article that the most serious consequence of shows like these is that they dismiss the mysterious totality of love and attraction and instead reveal the minor details that will, at the same time, attempt to grab the highest ratings and make an intimate couple decide the status of their relationship within a thirty minute time slot. She notes, "...They reduce the comedies and tragedies of life to nothing more demanding than a consumer product choice. And because we are fascinated, we will watch and allow that to happen" (p.46). Clearly, television programs, such as the "Change of Heart" program, demean the attributes of an intimate relationship-- attributes such as communication, emotions and friendship.

It is clear from the previous studies that, from childhood through adolescence, media can have a tremendous impact on individuals' perceptions of the roles in a relationship and their attitudes toward these roles. Although media, in an attempt for ratings and profit, may not glorify or encourage, through coverage, the most moral and traditionally held beliefs about relationships, they do give direction, however flawed it may be, to society's actions and attitudes. This study will build upon the previous research and seek to determine what aspects of relationships magazines emphasize to their male and female consumers, hence, how media portray intimate relationships.

Method

The authors chose four popular magazines to examine, two men's magazines and two women's magazines. The magazines chosen were *Maxim*, *Playboy*, *Cosmopolitan* and *Glamour*. *Maxim* is popular among young college-age males (Featherstone, 1998), while *Playboy* is targeted at more sophisticated, article-reading male consumers, though it does occasionally draw the wandering eyes of teenage males (Wagner, 1998). *Cosmopolitan* ("Helen Gurley Brown," 2001) and *Glamour* (Leive, 2001), on the other hand, target young females. The authors examined the September, October and November 2001 issues of each magazine for relationship content.

After selecting the magazines to study, the authors then formulated the operational definitions for terms discussed in this paper. Seeking to find each magazine's portrayal of intimate relationships, the authors decided to focus on communication content, relationship aspects, sexual content and language content (see Appendix A). Articles were coded only if they met the criteria for an intimate relationship article, which the authors defined as focusing on a relationship between a man and a woman, inclusive of

dating or marriage, that includes commentary and/or advice on gaining or maintaining the relationship.

The authors coded the relationship articles for communication content, inclusive of encouraging interpersonal communication (sense of trust, disclosure, listening and feedback), encouraging deceptive communication (concealment, equivocation and/or falsification), encouraging nonverbal communication, or encouraging humor. The relationship aspects that were coded for included commitment focus, non-commitment focus, encourages codependence, encourages independence, appearance/manner emphasis (physical appearance and/or mannerly, appropriate conduct), and stability emphasis. The authors also coded for sexual content, which contained oral sex, intercourse and foreplay. They also described the language in the article as falling into categories of vulgar, scientific, tender/loving or neutral. Vulgar language was defined by sexually explicit terminology, while scientific language used technical terms to describe relational elements. Tender/loving language used romantic, poetic terms, and neutral language had no specific slanted terminology.

The authors also coded for the sex of the authors of the articles as well as whether the articles were pro-man or pro-woman. An article was classified as pro-man if it described the relationship or gave advice that aimed toward pleasing the male or placing the male in the dominant position in the relationship. The articles considered pro-woman aimed toward pleasing the woman in the relationship or putting the female in the dominant position in the relationship.

To establish internal validity, the authors recruited three coders and thoroughly described each content variable of the coding form. They then gave each coder the

relationship articles found in each magazine, and they coded the articles using the coding form. Comparing the coders' finding to the authors' findings, 100% agreement occurred on deceptive communication, humor, codependence, intercourse, oral sex, foreplay, scientific language, and tender/loving language. Interpersonal communication content had 88.8% agreement. The coders also established 83.3% agreement on nonverbal communication content, as well as on non-commitment focus and independence. Furthermore, 88.8% concurrence occurred on commitment focus, and 94.4% agreement occurred on appearance/manner emphasis. Coders had 91.6% agreement on vulgar language content and 97.6% agreement on neutral language content. When examining the slant of the articles, the coders had 66.7% agreement on equitable articles, 100% agreement on pro-man articles and 93.8% agreement on pro-woman articles. The high percentages among the coders' findings and the authors' findings clearly enhance the internal validity of this study.

After each relationship article was coded by the authors for the relationship content variables, conclusions were drawn based upon the results of the coding forms. The authors used SPSS for Windows 10.00 to establish frequencies and cross-tabulations. They then incorporated the statistical analysis of the data to solidify conclusions.

Results

In total, the authors found and examined 18 relationship articles in the September, October and November 2001 issues of *Cosmopolitan*, *Glamour*, *Maxim* and *Playboy*. Over the three-month period, *Cosmopolitan* had eight relationship articles, while *Glamour* had three. *Maxim* contained three relationship articles, and *Playboy* contained four.

Combined, the men's and women's articles produced overall frequencies on each variable that the authors coded, as seen in Table 1. All frequencies reported are out of a total of 18 articles. As far as communication content, 12 of the articles coded encouraged interpersonal communication. Eight encouraged deceptive communication. Yet, only two articles mentioned nonverbal communication, and four articles encouraged humor.

In relationship aspects, half of the 18 articles had a commitment focus, and two articles had a clear non-commitment focus. Four articles encouraged independence, while only one article encouraged codependence. The authors found that six articles emphasized appearance or manners, and one article emphasized stability.

The authors also coded the articles for sexual content. While seven articles mentioned intercourse, only two articles noted oral sex. Six articles mentioned foreplay. Moreover, language content was analyzed. The authors of the articles incorporated vulgar language in four articles. Even though only one article contained scientific language and no articles contained tender/loving language, neutral language accounted for 14 of the articles.

Another aspect the authors analyzed was the sex of the author of the article, and whether the article had a pro-man or pro-woman slant. Accordingly, males wrote eight of the articles, and females wrote ten. In contrast, 16 of the articles were pro-woman, while one article was pro-man, and one article was considered equitable.

Table 1

About Here

Being that four magazines, two men's and two women's, were examined, the authors performed cross-tabulations to depict what variables were present in each magazine. One must take into consideration the breakdown of the relationship articles by magazine. The percentages being presented are considered out of having eight articles in *Cosmopolitan*, three in *Glamour*, three in *Maxim* and four in *Playboy*.

Concerning interpersonal communication content, 50% of the relationship articles in *Cosmopolitan* and 100% of the articles in *Glamour* encouraged it, as shown in Table 2. Seventy-five percent of the articles coded in Playboy encouraged interpersonal communication, as did 66.7% of the articles in *Maxim*.

Table 2

About Here

Table 3 conveys the presence of deceptive communication. While *Glamour* articles contained no deceptive communication, 62.5% of the *Cosmopolitan* articles did. Moreover, 66.7% of the *Maxim* articles and 25% of the *Playboy* articles encouraged deceptive communication.

Table 3

About Here

The authors also found that humor was encouraged in 12.5% of the *Cosmopolitan* articles and 33.3% of the *Glamour* articles. No *Playboy* articles encouraged humor; yet, 66.7% of the *Maxim* articles did encourage it.

Furthermore, as far as relational aspects, the authors discovered that 25% of *Cosmopolitan* articles encouraged independence, as did 66.7% of the *Maxim* articles. *Playboy* articles and *Glamour* articles, however, did not emphasize independence.

As seen in Table 4, appearance/manner emphasis was also analyzed for its presence in each magazine. *Cosmopolitan* reported the variable in 37.5% of its articles, while *Glamour* did not emphasize the variable in any relationship articles. *Maxim*, on the other hand, placed emphasis on appearance/manners in 66.7% of its articles, as did 25% of the *Playboy* articles.

Table 4

About Here

Cross-tabulations for sexual content in each magazine also proved interesting, as reported in Table 5. While 12.5% of *Cosmopolitan* articles, 33.3% *Glamour* articles and 33.3% of *Maxim* articles mentioned intercourse, all *Playboy* articles mentioned the subject. Fifty percent of the *Playboy* articles mentioned oral sex, while the articles in the other magazines did not. Furthermore, foreplay was mentioned in 25% of the *Cosmopolitan* articles, 33.3% of the *Maxim* articles and 75% of the *Playboy* articles.

Table 5

About Here

Vulgar language content was found in only the men's magazines. Fifty percent of *Playboy* articles were considered vulgar, as were 66.7% of *Maxim* articles. The majority of articles tested proved to be neutral. Ten of the 11 women's articles contained neutral language, as did four of the seven men's articles.

The authors also examined the articles' slants. In both *Cosmopolitan* and *Playboy*, 100% of the articles were pro-woman. *Glamour* had two pro-woman articles and one equitable article. *Maxim* was also split, with one article being pro-man and two articles being pro-woman.

As illustrated in Table 6, comparisons among the genders of the authors of the articles and the articles' slants conveyed that male authors were 87.5% pro-woman. In addition, female authors were 90% pro-woman.

Table 6

About Here

Clearly, the overall frequencies as well as the preceding cross-tabulations produce an abundance of information on relational content in men's and women's magazines.

Discussion

From the preceding data, many conclusions can be drawn about the portrayal of relationships in men's and women's magazines. Not surprisingly, the majority of the relationship articles, 61.1%, were found in women's magazines, 72.7% of those coming from *Cosmopolitan* alone. This finding is consistent with Illouz's (1991) observation that women assume a greater share in the relational process than men (p.232).

Yet, the authors doubt their initial choosing of *Maxim* magazine as a substantial men's magazine, as it carries flippant, idiot-kind commentary. The magazine reads more like a comic book than a hard-hitting men's magazine that would dare to broach serious relationship issues that many men face on a daily basis. Out of the four articles containing humor, two appeared in *Maxim*, which makes sense being that the magazine targets college-age males. The magazine pokes fun at intimate relationships, even going as far to offer its readers a 30-day plan to get dumped. Yet, the magazine's lack of lengthy, solid material on relationships is a commentary in itself, and perhaps a different men's magazine would have been a wiser choice.

Despite magazine choice, however, the overall data point at an interesting situation. The majority of men's and women's magazines contained interpersonal communication (Table 2). Indeed, interpersonal communication is of great importance in intimate relationships. Self-disclosure, listening and feedback are crucial in beginning and maintaining a relationship. With divorce rates peaking and marriage counseling on the rise, it is no wonder that both men's and women's magazines are emphasizing elements of interpersonal communication as ways to sustain a relationship. Cohan notes in a *Cosmopolitan* article, "It's important to reach the level of communication with your

partner where he can reveal his past, his fears, and his fantasies. Without that, you can never have a close emotional, sexual or intellectual relationship with him" (Kim, 2001, p.234). Evidently, readers are being made aware that clear communication is essential to a healthy relationship.

Just as these articles discuss the importance of interpersonal communication to healthy relationships, however, approximately 45.5% of the women's articles and 42.8% of the men's articles encourage deceptive communication (Table 3). In finding deceptive communication, the authors considered if the articles enticed their readers to falsify information, conceal information or equivocate in their relationships. While *Cosmopolitan* tells its readers to perform jealousy tests, such as appearing to dance with random people at a club to push a mate's jealousy buttons (Van Meel, 2001), a *Playboy* article, "How to Date a Girl Smarter Than You," also encourages falsification (Lee, 2001). The article describes how a man can appear to be smarter than he really is in order to gain the liking of a woman considered "out of his league." Rather than rely on honesty, articles such as these encourage readers to take deceptive action. This particular article advises men to use props, such as a classic book and horn-rimmed spectacles, and to obtain obscure facts about obscure subjects to keep his smart illusion alive. Using deceptive communication indeed seems counterintuitive to using interpersonal communication and keeping trust in a relationship. However, the findings do indicate that deceptive methods are sufficient means, though not necessarily the best means, to create one's impression to his partner and to gauge how the other partner feels about the relationship.

Another aspect of communication examined by the authors is nonverbal communication. Only 11.1% of the articles mentioned nonverbal communication (Table 1), though not in those certain terms. The articles, both found in women's magazines, described the importance of touch and interpersonal distance, also known as proxemics. Being that much of nonverbal communication is considered a natural, spontaneous and unconscious, however, it is not startling that many of the relationship articles refrain from offering specific direction on nonverbal communication.

An aspect also refrained upon was the use of humor, which was found in two of the women's articles and two of the men's articles. As mentioned earlier, 66.7% of the articles in *Maxim* encouraged humor. Perhaps when the magazines look to draw readers for their relationship articles, they, with the exception of *Maxim*, seek to give informative relational advice. Rather than rely on humorous attention-getters that may initially grab a reader looking for advice, men's and women's magazines seek to give applicable advice that will keep the readers coming back each month for more.

The authors also explored what relationship aspects were emphasized in each article. Fifty percent of the articles contained a commitment focus, while 11.1% did not. Since only half of the articles mentioned commitment, the authors assume that readers of the relationship articles implied commitment in their relationships so that the article did not have to explicitly mention long-term commitment as a goal. Yet, does the fact that half of the articles did not focus on commitment indicate that dating around or an element of promiscuity is allowed in today's relationships? A submission in the *Playboy* Advisor addresses a man's threesomes with his wife and another female (*Playboy* Advisor, 2001). The advice says that problems could be caused in the marriage if one partner did not

agree to the terms of the threesome. The Advisor is essentially saying that sex with people other than one's spouse is permissible if all parties agree. Though this non-commitment focus implies that media can refute society's traditional relationship notions and, in essence, devalue those notions, the authors suggest that it is not the only justifiable reason for half of the articles not mentioning commitment. The authors suggest that the absence of commitment is attributed to article content, being that many of the relationship articles without a commitment focus had subjects, such as getting to know a partner better or determining the status of a relationship, which pertained to less seriously-committed couples.

Another interesting finding in this study deals with encouraging one's independence (as compared to codependence) in a relationship. The authors were not shocked to find that 25% of the articles in *Cosmopolitan* encouraged the female to be independent. Founded by Helen Gurley Brown, the magazine boasts "fun, fearless females" who take on not only the world but also the men in that world. Furthermore, 66.7% of the *Maxim* articles stressed independence of the male. Taking into consideration the "men rule" attitude of *Maxim*, the articles tell men that they should certainly not be tied down in their current relationships but should look out for themselves.

Appearance/manner emphasis in the relationship articles also proved interesting. The results show that 27.3% of the women's articles emphasized appearance or manners, as did 42.9% of the men's articles. Rather than emphasize the physical appearance or manners of the partner, all of the articles in this category directed readers on ways to enhance their own appearance or manners in hopes of attracting their partner. An article in *Maxim*, written by a female, says, "Displaying complete mastery of gentlemanly

courting rituals- picking us up without honking, holding doors open, not wiping your nose on your sleeve- means squat. That stuff's expected these days" (Yazel, 2001, p.86). Both genders thus seek to impress each other through their appearance and manners.

Sexual content, however, seemed to be an area in which the genders split. While the majority of men's articles, 71.4%, mentioned intercourse, only 18.2% of the women's articles did. This finding was not shocking from the authors' perspective, especially since four of the seven men's articles were surrounded by the soft-core pornography of *Playboy* magazine, a magazine dubbed as "entertainment for men." Many of the relationship articles, however, mention ways to improve sex in a relationship, focusing not only on the act itself but also the level of communication in the relationship. Ascribing to the importance of interpersonal communication, both the men's and women's relational articles point out that true sexual intimacy and pleasure is achieved by trusting one's partner and communicating one's sexual needs and desires to his or her partner. Contradictory to the authors' thoughts of magazines as portraying sex-based relationship content, these articles see intercourse as an integral part of a relationship, yet not the most important part.

Furthermore, the genders divided over oral sex content. *Playboy* was the only magazine containing commentary on oral sex. This finding was not surprising, especially since all of the articles coded in *Playboy* were considered pro-woman. They focus on oral sex not to gratify the man but to gratify the woman. Though the women's relationship articles do not mention oral sex, the finding does not mean that women exclude it from their relationships. They simply place a different importance on sex in

their relationships. The lower frequencies of intercourse and oral sex clearly illustrate that women rank sexual content lower on their relational priority list than men do.

The same woman-pleasing attitude also sprung forth as four of the seven men's articles noted techniques of foreplay aimed to please a woman. In slight contrast, the two articles containing foreplay in *Cosmopolitan* encourage the woman to kiss her mate to seek out their chemistry. Perhaps males are at a disadvantage, since the women's magazines emphasize foreplay as an advantageous method for women to gauge their relationship, while men's magazines encourage males to use foreplay to gratify the female. Hence, it can be inferred that the woman is getting the best of both worlds.

Yet, if a female were to read a men's relationship article, her world would be turned upside down by the language content. While the overwhelming majority of the women's relationship articles were neutral in language content, 50% of the *Playboy* articles and 66.7% of the *Maxim* articles contained vulgar language. Although citing an example may be useful at this point in discussion, the authors are refraining for the sake of being tasteful. Oddly enough, however, the use of vulgar language, inclusive of obscene and sexually explicit terms, in men's magazines is appropriate for the gender in that it bluntly, directly and quickly grasps males' attention and tells them how to deal with their relational issues in macho male terms. Using this type of language effectively buffers the humiliation or inadequacy that men may feel when seeking relationship advice.

Perhaps the most unexpected finding in this study dealt with article slant. Overall, 88.9% of the relationship articles embraced a pro-woman slant. Evidently, women's articles have abandoned submissively catering to the male partner. The articles encourage women to find what they want out of the relationship and focus on themselves

and their needs within their relationships. Epitomizing a pro-woman slant, *Cosmopolitan* says, "...flaunt your unique flair knowing he's the one who will have to earn your affections" (Benjamin, 2001, p.200). Although these findings may be somewhat expected in a women's magazines, pro-woman slants appeared in six of the seven men's articles also. An article in *Playboy* even goes as far to tell its readers, "Women are smarter than you are. You're becoming an intellectual artifact, more Cro-Mag than sapiens, comprehensively outmatched, outspaced and outwitted by the fairer sex" (Lee, 2001, p.95). A reader also wrote into the September 2001 *Playboy* Advisor, begging, "Please, before I die, could you just once side with a male?" (*Playboy* Advisor, 2001, p.54). Certainly, however, the relationship arena is not a woman's world. Men's relationship articles are advising men to focus on the women, implying that they do not already pay attention to the woman's needs. The same logic applies to the women's articles. Articles vehemently tell women to look out for their own needs in relationships, meaning that women are currently not doing so and are still somewhat deferential to males in relationships.

Hence, as the relational content found in this study depicts, the great relational push-and-pull continues. While studies once focused on media's encouraging male domination and the submissiveness of females, times have changed. Men are encouraged to be sensitive to women's needs, while women are encouraged to maintain their sense of self in relationships in hopes of breaking the barriers of the past.

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Tables

Table 1- Frequencies

Category	Variable	Articles with Variable	Articles without Variable
Communication Content	Interpersonal Communication	12	6
	Deceptive Communication	8	10
	Nonverbal Communication	2	16
	Humor	4	14
Relationship Aspects	Commitment	9	9
	Noncommitment	2	16
	Independence	4	14
	Codependence	1	17
	Appearance/Manner	6	12
	Stability	1	17
Sexual Content	Intercourse	7	11
	Oral	2	16
	Foreplay	6	12
Language Content	Vulgar	4	
	Scientific	1	
	Tender/Loving	0	
	Neutral	14	
Author	Male	8	
	Female	10	

Article Slant	Pro-man	1
	Pro-woman	16
	Equitable	1

Table 2-Interpersonal Communication Content

Magazine	Articles containing Interpersonal Communication	Articles not containing Interpersonal Communication	Total articles
Cosmopolitan	4	4	8
Glamour	3	0	3
Maxim	2	1	3
Playboy	3	1	4

Table 3- Deceptive Communication Content

Magazine	Articles containing Deceptive Communication	Articles not containing Deceptive Communication	Total articles
Cosmopolitan	5	3	8
Glamour	0	3	3
Maxim	2	1	3
Playboy	1	3	4

Table 4- Appearance/Manner Emphasis

Magazine	Articles containing Appearance/Manner emphasis	Articles not containing Appearance/Manner emphasis	Total articles
Cosmopolitan	3	5	8
Glamour	0	3	3
Maxim	2	1	3
Playboy	1	3	4

Table 5- Intercourse Content

Magazine	Articles containing Intercourse	Articles containing Oral Sex	Articles containing Foreplay
Cosmopolitan	1	0	2
Glamour	1	0	0
Maxim	1	0	1
Playboy	4	2	3

Table 6- Article Slant

Author's Sex	Pro-man	Pro-woman	Equitable	Total
Male	1	7	0	8
Female	0	9	1	10

Appendix A

Coding Form

Magazine:_____
Issue Date:_____

Page Number:_____
Article Title:_____
Type: Article / Letter to Advisor
Number of Paragraphs:_____

Communication Content	

- Encourages interpersonal communication (sense of trust, disclosure, listening, feedback, etc.)
- Encourages deceptive communication
- Encourages nonverbal communication
- Encourages humor

Relationship Aspects	

- Commitment focus
- Non commitment focus
- Encourages Independence
- Encourages Codependence
- Appearance/manner emphasis
- Stability emphasis

Sexual Content	

- Intercourse
- Oral
- Foreplay

Language Content	

- Vulgar
- Scientific
- Tender/Loving
- Neutral

Author: Male
Female

Article Slant: Pro-man
Pro-woman

Mind the Gender Gap:
Gender Differences in Motivation to Contribute Online Content

Submitted to the Commission on the Status of Women Division
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Cindy Royal
Doctoral Student
The University of Texas at Austin
clroyal@mail.utexas.edu

Abstract:

Recent studies indicate that women are using the Internet in the same numbers as men. But, is this statistic misleading in that it fails to highlight gender issues in terms of the quality of usage at higher levels of participation? The Internet provides inherent agency that puts the creation of Internet content into its users' hands. This study will analyze gender differences in motivation and willingness to participate in the Internet as contributor of content.

Mind the Gender Gap: Gender Differences in Motivation to Contribute Online Content

Introduction

In the London subway system, known as The Tube, there are signs reminding passengers to "Mind the Gap, " to pay attention to the gap between the train and the platform. This phrase was used as a metaphor in a paper by Andy Carvin of the Benton Foundation to illustrate the importance of paying attention to the gap between those with and without access to technology, primarily focused on Internet access[1] It is particularly suited for a study of gender issues in regard to a digital divide, since recent studies point to equity in the numbers of women and men with access to the Internet. But such statistics can distract attention from the issues of gender beyond access, in the differences in which men and women utilize and are represented in technology. This gap is less obvious, but nonetheless as critical..

There is no doubt that the Internet has caused great change in the way we, as a society, communicate. Sending and receiving information takes a fraction of the time and cost it once required. The World Wide Web is teeming with information on any hobby, project, company, or activity that one can imagine, and, with some limitations, that information is accessible to millions of Internet users in the U.S. and around the globe. The Internet allows anyone with an idea, ranging anywhere from brilliant to insane, to communicate and gain an audience. The online medium holds inherent agency that puts the creation of Internet content into the hands of the masses. This study will seek to identify and analyze motivation and willingness to participate in the Internet as contributor or developer of content and assess differences to do so based on gender.

Many studies in media sociology have sought to determine the effects of the backgrounds of media producers on the resulting content. Weaver and Wilhoit contend, within legacy media (newspaper, print, and television) individual effects are minor at best, given the influence of organizational routines and constraints.[2] But, what if such organizational factors were lifted? In an environment like the Internet, in which an individual can create content, will demographic factors influence content and in what way? Or will other stronger societal factors come into play to shape content via norms and stereotypes?

The original moniker for the Internet has been the "information superhighway" but that metaphor is quickly becoming outdated with the transition from viewing the Internet as a depository of information and facts to an important communication vehicle. In *The Communication Superhighway: Social and Economic Change in the Digital Age*, Greg Hearn et al prefer to discard the information-centric labels. "We regard the emerging technologies as potentially moving us into a new era of information technology where the focus will be on communication – interactive and dynamic – and where the issue of the meaning of the information is increasingly of central concern. For this reason our preferred short-hand term to represent the emerging technologies is the 'communication superhighway'".[3]

While the interactive and dynamic nature of the Internet provides new communication opportunities, it only does so for those with access. The concept of the Digital Divide was first publicly introduced in a Department of Commerce Study in 1998.[4] It has grown in acceptance to represent the difference in the "haves" and "have-nots" of the technology revolution. Early indicators showed that the profile of Internet

users was white, male, affluent, and educated.[5] But, Internet usage grew steadily during the late 90's and into the new millennium, with current statistics showing over 116 million Americans online at some location and more than half of all U.S. households owning a computer.[6] This level of usage is encouraging, and it is not difficult to imagine a day in the near future when all Americans have some level of access to online information. This does, however, indicate that attention must alsobe paid to issues for a global population, particularly for those in developing countries.

Recent studies also show that the gender gap in computer usage is eliminated with women using the Internet in equal numbers to men. And minority access growth rates outpace those of the general population.[7] But what these statistics fail to highlight is that simply having access to the Internet does not necessarily reflect the type and quality of usage and the resulting outcome of online representation. What one must analyze are differences beyond access.

Participation with technology can be illustrated as a hierarchy in the shape of a pyramid with three levels, each increasing the level of engagement of the user: access, usage, and contribution, and ultimately leading to resulting representations in the medium. Figure 1 indicates that numbers of participants decrease as levels of participation increase up the pyramid. Social and cultural factors can exert pressure on the model and limit the nature of participation at the various levels and ultimately bias representation.

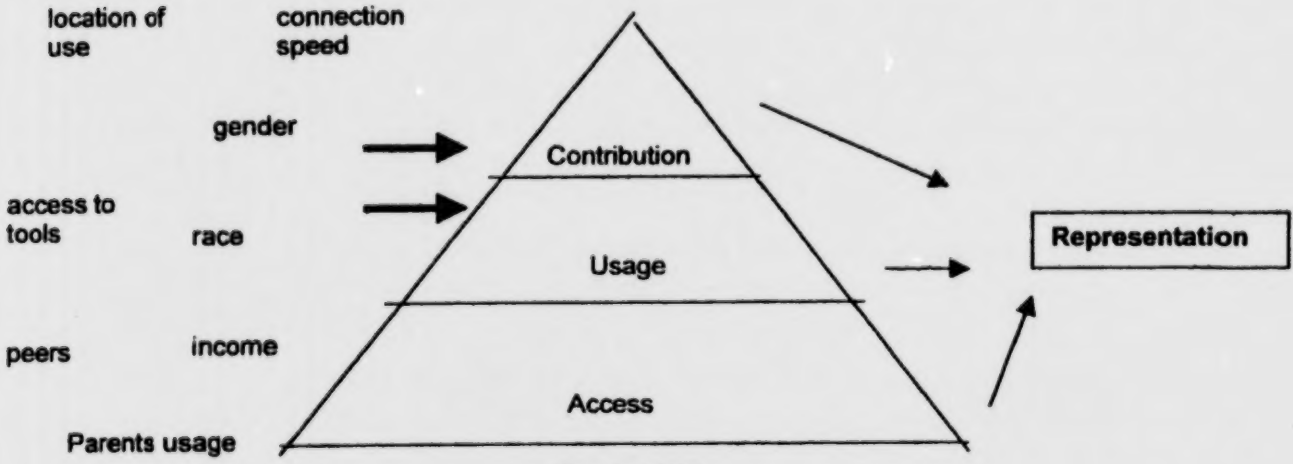

Figure 1

Access may be broad, but if usage and contribution reflect a narrower set of users, resulting representations may be less diverse and less representative of the audience and public at large. Specific explication of each level of participation is provided below.

Access

The first level and foundation of participation is that of access to technology. This includes the ability to acquire equipment, tools, software and Internet access in an accessible environment, i.e. home, school, work, and public places. Having a computer that can connect to the Internet is the first step, but one must also have a modem, a phone line, and access to an Internet connection either through an ISP or other online service to gain a minimal level of connectedness. In addition, a browser such as Netscape or Internet Explorer is necessary. These are available for free as downloads

and are usually provided with the computer operating system or bundled with the hardware.

While installation of a computer is much easier now than it has been previously, it still requires a general understanding of technology. Technical support is often abrupt or unavailable in the installation of home computer systems, and many have gained experience in this area either through trial and error or through situations in the workplace. Gaining adequate knowledge or training can become another hurdle in one's ability to access the Internet, and can affect the quality of one's experience at higher levels of participation.

Some access the Internet at work or school. In these cases, the user may not be required to install the equipment, but then one must understand how to use it efficiently. While workplaces and schools can be a resource for technology training and experience, some public facilities have limitations as to the types of activities engaged in online or the amount of time one can spend doing personal or non-work oriented surfing. The Department of Commerce figures regarding access include accessing the Internet in any environment. These statistics do not reflect the differences in quality of experience between a home-user and one using a computer in a controlled environment with imposed constraints and limitations, like work or school.

Access to support is another area that can provide greater understanding of technology. If one has a support group of friends, family or co-workers with which to be consulted, one has a broader base for resolving issues around technology and expanding knowledge. While an isolated individual might be forced to fend for oneself, having access to others with knowledge in different areas can provide a broader

understanding and reduce frustration with technology. Also, the sharing of ones' knowledge with others can improve confidence in usage of technology. The quality of one's access can affect the amount and quality of usage one's experiences at higher levels of participation.

Beyond minimal levels of access, a new trend is developing toward increasing the bandwidth of one's Internet connection. Services like Dedicated Subscriber Line (DSL) or cable modems have increased the speed with which one can access information. This will affect the quality of one's experience and the nature of participation at higher levels. While only 10% of Internet users currently access through a broadband connection, the trend is expected to increase as broadband connections become more available and pricing drops. [8]

Usage

Usage is defined in many areas. In one respect, it is defined by the amount of time one spends online. But it also involves the type and quality of activities in which one engages. Usage statistics vary across the genders in ways that are stereotyped by social conventions. Men tend to spend more time online. The average male spent nearly 10 hours and 24 minutes online, compared to 8 hours and 56 minutes by women. Men logged on 20 times in a month to 18 times by women, and men viewed 31 percent more pages - 760 to 580.[9] And men use the Internet for news, games, and financial information while women tend to use the Internet for communication, job, religious, and health information.[10] Certainly, the quantity of time online is not merely an indication of quality of activity. The learning process often starts out steep and then subsides, taking

less time to find information as one gains experience. And, the Internet abounds with what can be argued to be unproductive activities, like pornography, videogames, and other time wasting sites, so gender differences in time spent online must be carefully analyzed.

While women enjoy using the Internet for the purposes of communication, some women have found the Internet to be a hostile space for communication. Gender can be manipulated online, and men have been known to invade women-only spaces, proposition and sexually assault women via instant messaging and online chats, and use other tactics such as jargon or condescension to make women feel unwelcome in some spaces, thus impacting the potential quality of one's online usage experience.

Contribution

For many, access and usage of the Internet are all that can be imagined in terms of participation. We are conditioned by legacy media, newspapers, television, books, and magazines, to leave the content creation to the professionals and consume it at our leisure. But, the vast content on the Internet, at least in its early days, was actually the creation of its users. Individuals have used the Internet to send e-mail, post comments on discussion boards and chat rooms, engage in virtual environments, create Web sites for hobbies, interests, and causes, and to work for technology companies that have provided online content. As the Internet grows in mainstream popularity, creation and contribution to content is not being encouraged and perpetuated as a role for the individual, but rather for that of the media companies, taking on the legacy media model. Many familiar with the passive model of television cannot comprehend the

responsibility of actually creating content, even though some might be doing so without their complete consciousness (as in posting to a newsgroup). But the power of the Internet lies in the ease with which one can publish with fewer barriers to entry than other forms of media.

The area of contribution includes the ways in which the genders differ in regard to the creation of online content. The male designers of the Web were the first to enjoy publishing their own work online, thus driving the majority of early Web content. While women enjoy communicating online, their communications are more likely of a personal nature and not on a public forum.[11]

In regard to careers in technology, men hold more of the computer science degrees and continue to make more money in the field of technology than their female counterparts. Department of Labor statistics show that men are more predominant in the computer programming field and make 20% more than women programmers. Studies are underway that recommend an analysis of the socialization of girls with technology and the socio-cultural factors that affect women's career choices.[12]

Does the root of this differential exist in our school systems? Female enrollments in computer science classes at the high school level are well below that of males, and in 2000 only 15% of the test-takers of the Advanced Placement Exam in computer science were women.[13] Are we teaching a generation of young people that men make the things that women use? Is it because of this adage that women are ceding the domain of computer technology through the guise of boredom and disinterest, or is there something inherent in the technology that drives boys to and girls away? The risk to women is that they will not be able to participate in the types of success and creation

that the field allows, and not be able to reap the rewards that computer technology has in the fields of the arts, social sciences, and the natural sciences.[14] Women have had a long history in being marginalized in the field of technology, from the contributions of Ada Lovelace to the field of computer programming, to the feminization of technologies such as typewriters and word processing, technological advancements have traditionally been used to keep women in their places.[15] But new media and communication technologies have evolved to both facilitate a discussion around the nature of identity that has contributed to post-modern thought and provide new economic and social opportunities for women, thus affecting old and creating new power structures.

Representation

Finally, beyond contribution to content, there is the issue of representation. When a group has access, utilizes the tools, and feels responsible for contributing content, that group will have stronger and more accurate representation than groups that are either under-represented or that rely on others to represent them. But lack of these resources puts many groups at risk in leaving their issues in the hands of others unfamiliar and unassociated with their causes. Additionally, an understanding of the issues by all groups is necessary for the creation of policy around technology that will ultimately impact both users and non-users. There is no ability to abstain in action, as non-action in and of itself constitutes a decision.

Only through equal access, usage, and contribution can one hope to achieve the equal representation of voices online. In the past, online content was specifically

geared toward its male users, content made by men for men. When women starting going online, companies began to create content that they felt was for women. This did increase the presence of women in online forums, but the result was e-commerce spaces that sold beauty products and Web sites that were like their fashion magazine counterparts. Even sites started by women were subject to this same target-marketing concept (i.e. iVillage.com), with much flash but little substance.[16] But there is a risk in allowing one to be represented by another, in allowing one to define your own image and issues. When an entire group is severely marginalized in terms of its participation in technology, it is, in essence, silenced. Women must continue to progress through the levels of participation and fulfill their responsibility to represent themselves in the online world, either through their presence as a target market, or more importantly, as original creators of material, producers of knowledge, and sites of learning.

Related Studies

This research broadly falls into three areas: Internet usage and diffusion, media sociology or the role of the content producer on content, and studies of the relationship of gender and technology.

Some studies have sought to gain insight into the broader concept of Internet usage. Reisenwitz and Cutler correlated Internet Usage with a dogmatism scale and defined Internet Usage by a number of categories: the amount of time spent on the Internet, how long they had used the Internet, at what age they began using the Internet, what was the primary use of the Internet, and how or if the user paid for the Internet or Internet-related services.[17] The amount of time spent on the Internet is a key

factor that can be operationalized via hours spent online or frequency of connections. Each measure provides a different aspect of the quality of online experiences. Skills develop over time and a user can find new ways to utilize and facilitate their online activities. Diffusion theory, studies of the processes by which technology emerges, is often used to identify a user's motivation to adopt new technologies.[18]

The types of activities engaged in online can fall under several categories and trends across demographics may influence resulting content. There are several lists that track the most popular (most visited) Web sites.[19] Other surveys have analyzed the types of specific online activities in which users are engaged: email, browsing the Web, checking news, E-commerce, online banking, work-related tasks, research for school projects, etc.[20] Still other studies have analyzed the quality of Internet connection, for example, the number of users accessing the Internet through modem, broadband (cable modem or digital subscriber line), or network.[21] The speed of connection can have a significant impact on the quality of online activities. Additionally, the quality of one's online experiences can be influenced by the location of Internet use. Having a computer at home provides the most flexibility in terms of usage and creativity, while using a computer solely from work or school can have some implicit or explicit time, convenience, and usage constraints associated.

But most of the research on users tends to focus on the passive nature of their online activities. Few articles have discussed the number of users that have updated Web sites or use the Internet to participate in discussions or chats.[22] An estimate of the number of personal Web pages is in excess of 6 million, and there has been strong and fast growth among sites that offer free homepages.[23] Others have looked at the

interactivity of Web sites and assessed the level of the interactivity of the experience, in terms of email addresses, hyperlinks, and multimedia.[24] Interactivity as defined by Rafaeli and Sudweeks "is not a characteristic of the medium. It is a process-related construct about communication."[25] But these studies use the interactive potential of the Web site as the basis for their research, rather than focusing on the characteristics and motivations of the creators.

Some studies have shown that while men and women are accessing the Internet in equal numbers, the types of activities one engages in and the amount of time online varies.[26] Research on the relationship of women and technology has shown that there are gender differences in the way the sexes relate to and adopt technologies.[27] Ramifications of this are important, as early adopters set the tone, character, and representations of the medium through jargon, syntax, visuals, routines, and norms. Rather than explaining gender differences through biology, Margolis and Fisher offer several societal factors that determine this difference: presence of computer in the home, having one's own computer in one's room versus sharing with the family, parent's Internet experience and usage, and peers Internet experience and usage.[28] They also site trends in computer activities that indicate a more social experience, one in which women are more likely to participate. This is in contrast to the male-dominated world of computer science which is characterized by isolated individuals, programming for hours, glued to their computer screens.

Cresser, Gunn, and Balme studied women's experiences in creating e-zines (online publications). They found the Internet to be a unique medium for creative female expression, providing opportunities not found in mainstream media.[29]

Additionally, Miller and Mather researched gender differences in personal homepages.[30] Their research showed that women's pages were longer, contain more links, and show more awareness and responsiveness to the reader. In terms of representations found, only men used joke images, only women used symbolic representations.

General research on gender differences has been done in regard to computer-aided communication by Sherry Turkle,[31] relationship between women and machines by Sadie Plant,[32] and the role of gender in constructing online identity and the theory of cyborgs by Donna Haraway.[33]

And on a side note, research shows that storytelling (online journaling being one form of that), can be beneficial to one's health and well-being.[34] As an outlet, are women taking full advantage of the ability to express and communicate on the Internet, a quality that has been traditionally considered "feminine?"

These issues lead to the questions: are women adapting to the technology environment or is the environment adapting with what are considered more "feminized" values (social interaction, community)? And what are the resulting ramifications and representations?

Research Questions

As the Internet becomes a mainstream activity, there are many people, both men and women, who would consider themselves passive users, eager to surf for content but never considering creating content or adding knowledge. This study seeks to assess gender differences in the motivation and responsibility for creating online content. The research questions that were addressed are as follows:

1. Is there a difference between men and women in the motivation and responsibility for creating online content?
2. What are the factors that would make women more likely to feel motivated to create content? Computer in home, time online, type of connection (modem vs. broadband), parents Internet usage (specifically mothers), peer usage of Internet will be investigated.
3. Do the types of activities engaged in online show any patterns in motivation to create content? Is there a gender difference in the categories of content of sites visited and sites created?

Method

The method employed was a survey administered to a large undergraduate class. The course selected was Critical Issues in Journalism, due to its large, homogenous student population to allow for more direct comparison of gender differences that will neutralize other social/cultural factors, i.e. education, income, etc.[35] Total respondents numbered 156 with 110 females and 46 males. This is indicative of predominantly female enrollment in the School of Journalism. The course consisted of approximately half journalism majors and half non-journalism majors (mostly liberal arts). Students were primarily Freshmen and Sophomores (over 70%) which was consistent for both men and women.

The ethnic makeup of the class was primarily Caucasian (69%), which is slightly higher than the overall student population at The University of Texas (61%). Ethnicity was fairly stable between genders with males having slightly more Hispanic

respondents (men 24% , women 10%) and slightly fewer Asian(men 7%, women13%) and African-American (men 2%, women 4%) respondents. Given the primarily Caucasian data set, this purposive sample provided a more direct comparison of gender differences within a fairly homogeneous group. In other words, few commingling variables (differences of race or age) exist. Also, by focusing on a single age group, results could be focused on gender differences that apply to potential social constructs attributed to a specific generation of students. The average age of respondents was 20 years (both for men and women). While this sample is not to be considered generalizeable to the broader population, it can be used as the preliminary justification and basis for future research in this area.

The survey was delivered under the guise of assessing student's Internet usage habits. No mention of gender analysis (except the survey question that asks for gender) was made to the respondents so as to not create expectations for the outcome. The two-page survey was delivered during the first five minutes of the class, and was described to the students as confidential and voluntary. No credit or requirement was stipulated for participation.

The survey consisted of 21 questions that served to assess the student's Internet usage patterns, social/cultural factors involved in their past computer usage, and their willingness and motivation to design their own Web sites and create other types of Internet content. Analysis was performed on all questions to determine if and where gender differences exist. The survey is presented in Figure 2.

Figure 2: Internet Usage Survey

Thank you for taking this Internet Usage survey. I appreciate your assistance with my research. Your participation as a respondent in this survey is voluntary and confidential. Your responses to these questions will remain anonymous and will only be reported in a summary manner.

Directions: Please take five minutes to answer the following questions regarding your Internet usage patterns. Try to answer each question as accurately as possible. Notes in parentheses indicated the number of choices you may make per question.

Student Information

Age: _____ Gender: ___Male ___Female

Class: ___Freshman ____Sophomore ___Junior ____ Senior ____Graduate ____Other

Citizenship: ___U.S. ___Other: Specify_____

Ethnicity: ____African-American ___American Indian ____Asian
___Caucasian ___Hispanic ____ Other: Specify _____

Technology Environment

1. Do you currently have a computer in your residence? __yes __no

2. Where do you primarily use the Internet? (pick one(1)) __Home __School __Work
__Other Specify: _____

3. What year did you first log on to the Internet? _____

4. What type of connection do you have at the point of primary Internet usage? (pick one(1))
___modem ___cable ____Other Specify: _____
___dsl ___network

5. Did you have access to a computer in your parents' home? __yes ___no

6. If so, was it your own computer? ___yes ___no In your own room? __yes __no

7. When you lived at home, did your parents use the Internet? ___mother ___father ___both
___neither ___other adult in home: Specify_____

8. How often do you log on to the Internet?(pick one(1)) __More than once a day
__Once a day __a few times a week __once a week __less than once a week

9. How much time do you spend on the Internet in a week?(pick one(1))
__less than 2 hours __2-5 hours __6-8 hours
__9-11 hours __12-14 hours __15-20 hours ___greater than 20 hours

10. For what reasons do you use the Internet? (choose as many as apply)

__email __ discussion groups __chat rooms
__surfing Web __ sharing photos __blog sites (Web logs)
__Web design __job hunting __online resume
__participate on email list, list serv __Other: Specify _____

11. What types of Web sites do you visit most frequently? (pick as many as three(3))
___news ___sports ___political
___academic ___entertainment ___activism
__personal/family __e-commerce/online shopping
__hobby __Other: Specify_____

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

12. Do you have your own Web site? ___yes ___no
If so, what type of site is it? (please select one)
___news ___sports ___political
___academic ___entertainment ___activism
__personal/family __e-commerce/online shopping
__hobby ___Other Specify:_____

13. Do any of your friends have their own Web site? __yes __no
If so, how many? ___ (estimate)

14. Does your ISP or online provider provide Web space for you? ___yes ___no ___don't know

15. True or False: I have taken a course in Web publishing or Web design.

16. Rate your understanding of the technology behind the Internet?
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
none some great deal

Name two favorite Web sites that you visit frequently: 1) _____
2) _____

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
17. I plan to take a course in Web publishing or Web design in the next year.	5	4	3	2	1
18. I plan to design my own Web site within the next year.	5	4	3	2	1
19. I would like to create my own Web site if I had the proper knowledge and training to do so.	5	4	3	2	1
20. I hope to work for an Internet company/publication when I graduate	5	4	3	2	1

21. If you could create your own Web site, what type of site would it be? (please select one)
___news ___sports ___political
___academic ___entertainment ___activism
__personal/family __e-commerce/online shopping
__hobby ___Other Specify:_____

If you have any other comments regarding your Internet Usage, please provide them on the back of the survey. If you would like more information about this study, please contact Cindy Royal at clroyal@mail.utexas.edu

Thank you for filling out this survey.

Results

In terms of general usage patterns, the survey solicited responses to questions regarding the length of time using the Internet, the location of primary usage at which respondents currently use the Internet, the frequency of logins per week, and the amount of time spent online. For both genders, a vast majority has access to a computer in their residence and uses the computer primarily in the home (as opposed to school or work). Men indicated that they had been using the Internet slightly longer than women (6.74 years for men vs. 6 years for women). For men, 80% logged on more than once a day, while a high number of women (76%) did the same. A higher percentage of men, however, were spending 9 or more hours online (44% men vs. 29% women), consistent with other studies of this nature.[36]

Research Question 1 asked "Is there a difference between men and women in the motivation and responsibility for creating online content?" Results showed that men were slightly more likely than women to have already established their own Web site (15.9% vs. 13.6%). But when asked about future plans to create a Web site, greater differences emerged. Results are summarized in Table 1:

Table 1: Future Plans to Create a Web Site by Gender

	Females				Males			
	avg score	% SA or A	% Neutral	% D or DA	avg score	% SA or A	% Neutral	% D or DA
17. I plan to take a course in Web Publishing or Web Design in the next year	1.9	7.3%	15.6%	77.1%	2.27	18.2%	11.4%	70.5%
18. I plan to design my own site in the next year	1.9	10.6%	14.9%	74.5%	2.32	16.2%	21.6%	62.2%
19. I would like to create my own site if I had the knowledge and training to do so	2.81	34.4%	23.7%	41.9%	3.11	40.5%	21.6%	37.8%

It is interesting to note that in both groups, only a small number of respondents indicated that they either Strongly Agreed or Agreed regarding plans to learn about or develop a site in the next year. The numbers increase with the general Question #19, but in all cases, the average score and the percentage favorable answers were higher for men than women.

Research Question 2 explored the factors in the environment that might make women more or less likely to contribute Internet content in the form of a personal Web site. The questions dealt with the presence of computer in home, parents' computer usage, and friends having their own Web site (in accordance with results found by Margolis and Fisher).[37] Additional variables analyzed were type of primary connection to the Internet, knowledge of access to Web space, and a self-assessment of an understanding of technology.

An overwhelming number of students indicated that they had access to a computer in their parents' home (94% of both men and women) and in most cases at least one or both parents were Internet users. This, as well as the high number of

students with computers in their college residences, points to the affluence of the student body at this university. The homogeneity of the sample only increases the reliability of analyzing the data for gender specific differences that are not commingled with other factors such as income or education. A higher percentage of males indicated that they had had a computer in their own room when they were growing up (28.3% vs. 21.1%). This result is important in understanding how men are socialized to have computers that are considered their own domain and to have unstructured, and in most cases, unsupervised, access to technology. An environment such as this can lead to more exploration and creativity, thus more agency for online creation.

Most students reported having friends with Web sites, but men were slightly more likely than women (79.5% vs. 73.6%) to indicate such. Men also were more likely to indicate that they used a high-speed connection (85% vs. 77%) and were more likely to know if their Internet service provider provided them Web space or not (41% of men indicated they "didn't know" vs. 80% of women). In terms of a general assessment of their own understanding of technology, on a scale of 1-10, men rated themselves 20% higher than women (6.82 vs. 5.69).

But when looking at correlations between the environmental variables and the motivation to create content, only a few weak relationships were found. Weak to no relationships were found between the variables of having a computer in own room or parents' usage of the Internet. Students with friends having Web sites were slightly more likely to have a Web site or indicate an interest in creating a site. Stronger relationships were found when looking at respondents' assessment of their understanding of technology and their desire to create content, most notably in the more

active questions indicating having already created a Web site or planning to learn about and create a site in the next year. This could indicate that confidence and esteem in the technology environment plans the strongest role, with men consistently rating themselves with a higher understanding of technology, regardless of comparison of actual skill level. Correlation results are provided in Table 2.

Due to the small and purposive sample, multiple regressions combining variables with Gender did not produce significant results. But the consistent trend of the descriptive statistics indicates that there are gender differences occurring and that more complex interworkings of environment, social, and cultural variables may be the cause. It is most likely the combination of subtle and overt factors, explicit and implicit dynamics, that contribute to gender differences in the way one feels about technology and the agency one takes with it.

Table 2: Correlations Coefficients of Environmental Variables

	Have Web Site (yes,no)	Taken Web Course (yes, no)	Plan to Take Web Course (5=SA, 1=SD)	Plan site in next year (5=SA, 1=SD)	Site w/training (5=SA, 1=SD)
computer in own room (yes or no)	0.12	0.06	-0.03	0.06	0.07
parents usage of Internet(yes if either used)	0.14	0.12	-0.04	0.05	0.03
friends have Web site(yes or no)	0.23	0.1	-0.12	-0.19	-0.25
understanding of technology(1-10, 1=none, 10=great deal (self-assessed)	-0.25	-0.26	0.23	0.19	-0.03

One final observation regarded the question that asked if the respondent "hoped to work for an Internet company" when he/she graduated. It is interesting to note that almost no one in the survey agreed with this statement, but women were more likely to either Strongly Disagree or Disagree than men (79% vs. 50%). This trend is relevant

due to the changing nature of attitudes about the potential of the Internet. While this survey was not meant to collect longitudinal information, it could be assumed that three years ago, the number of students indicating an interest in working for an Internet company would have been much higher due to the vast growth of the Internet and the related market conditions that have since dissipated.

Research Question 3 asked "Do the types of activities engaged in online show any patterns in motivation to create content? Is there a gender difference in the categories of content of sites visited and sites created?" Most respondents indicated that their primary usages of the Internet were in the areas of email and Web surfing, although men were more likely to respond in both categories. There were no drastic gender differences in terms of other Internet activities engaged. A larger percentage of women (10.9% vs. 2.2%) indicated that they participated in "blog" sites (Web logs, like an online journal). Men were more likely to say they used the Internet for Web Design (13% vs. 5.5%), which is consistent with other trends found in the survey.

In terms of types of sites visited, news, academic and entertainment sites were most frequently mentioned by women, while men were also interested in those categories, but high numbers also indicated an interest in sports sites. The survey asked the respondents to include the names of two favorite Web sites. While the women listed a diverse offering of sites, it is interesting to note that 43% of men mentioned ESPN.com specifically. Women were more likely to indicate an interest in personal/family sites (24.5% vs. 6.5%) and hobby sites (18.2% vs. 8.7%). In terms of the type of site they would like to create, women were mostly likely to indicate a personal/family site (50.6% vs. 25%), and men were most likely to indicate a sports site

(33.3% vs. 2.3%). While these results indicate general gender differences in usage of online content, no strong direct correlations between types of activities engaged online and motivation to create Web content were found.

Conclusion

Due to the purposive nature of this sample, any one statistic in this study would not be enough to indicate a trend. On the other hand, if multiple statistics present the same trend, then the results become more interesting and applicable. In almost all areas under study, results of this survey indicate gender differences in general usage of the Internet, motivation to create Web sites, environmental factors, such as types of connection and assessment of understanding of technology, and types of activities engaged. Patterns of general research in this study reflect patterns found by other researchers in terms of gender differences in access and time spent online.

While there was only a small gender difference in terms of actual Web sites created, when asked about their intentions, men were more likely than women to answer favorably. This indicates an environment that makes men more comfortable with technology and more motivated to express their opinions to others in an online forum, potentially a form of agency that women are not experiencing. When viewing the environment, differences emerged in terms of number of years on Internet, presence of computer in own room, understanding of technology, and friends having their own Web sites. These environmental factors point to strong gender differences in the ways boys and girls are socialized with technology. These environmental differences manifest themselves in the types of activities one engages in online, which, consistent with this

study, fall into stereotypical gender roles. For instance, women are more likely to be interested in personal sites, men in sports sites.

It is possible that the potential for agency that the Web provides for expressing one's opinion is being squelched by social factors that exist offline and are slowly creeping into our online activities. The Internet provides space for a variety of discourses across vast geographies, and in general, provides a forum for publication that has fewer barriers to entry than traditional media. In terms of personal homepages, the Web provides anyone who has something to say with a forum to present an alternative to stereotypes found in popular media.[38] If women are not being encouraged to create or are not taking responsibility for their own representations in cyberspace, the result will be much like the patriarchal representations that abound in print and screen.

So, while women may be achieving high levels of Internet access that are equal to or, in some cases, surpassing those of men, this research indicates that there are other divides in which we must continue to pay attention. Beyond this look at the social factors that lead to gender and technology differences, it is also important to remain cognizant of other issues that can impact technology usage, such as race, class, income, and education, that impact domestically as well globally. No longer is there one divide between "haves" and "have-nots" of technology, but multiple divides that must be analyzed, comprehended, and addressed.

This study provides the basis for future research in understanding women's relationship with technology and the way women are ultimately represented through technology. Further research should include experiments in computer labs in controlled settings with women to determine their motivations and interests in using technology.

Additional survey research should look at similar responses within a larger, random sample to improve the validity of the results. In addition, qualitative research in the form of interviews and observation projects can highlight some of the subtle gender differences in the ways children are socialized and educated to deal with technology. Analysis of online content can provide clues to the actual representations being created in a variety of online niches. Finally, testing of specific computer skills (as opposed to asking questions geared toward self-assessment) can provide a foundation for the reliability and meaning of self-assessments.

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Peering through the Glass Ceiling of the Boys' Club: Examining How Masculinity Affects Journalism and Mass Communication Education

For Presentation at the Commission on the Status of Women for the 2002 AEJMC Conference in Miami, Florida

Billy Wooten
University of Kentucky
Department of Communication

2020 Armstrong Mill Rd. #1324
Lexington, KY 40515

(859) 272-4662

billy_wooten@yahoo.com

Two participants on a 1992 Australian television show, *Couchman over Australia*, had a heated exchange concerning men's responses to feminism:

> Perry Hoskins - "Men are cast in the role as oppressors. The burden of guilt is attached to being male, regardless of one's individual conduct. Men are very definitely being seen to blame for the various ills affecting womanhood."
>
> Liz Connor - "The important thing to say is not that feminism is accusing individual men of being oppressors. Feminism is asking men to own up to the ways that they have been privileged by those systems and structures [which reinforce structural inequities]. (Pease, 2000, p. 100)

This exchange points to a prevalent problem in social practice: exposing sexism and the various ways it manifests itself in our systemic society. A more underlying problem is how sexism is reified by not only those persons in positions of power but those who are subordinated by those in power. The pervasiveness of gender as a way of structuring society demands that gender statuses be clearly differentiated; however, this differentiation has led to an increase in gender stratification. One area that has been negatively influenced by this emphasis to create difference is the workplace.

Sociologist Theodore Cohen (2001) states, "As a social institution, gender is a process of creating distinguishable social statuses for the assignment of rights and responsibilities. As part of a stratification system that ranks these statuses unequally, gender is a major building block in the social structures built on these unequal statuses" (p. 26). In a gender-stratified society, the labor of men is valued more than the activities of women (Cohen, 26). In a structuralized institution, gender becomes a key factor in structured inequality. The devalued gender (woman) has less power and prestige, and lower economic rewards than the valued gender (male). To put this female devaluation in a broader perspective, Marilyn French (1992) states that women do from two-thirds to three-quarters of all the work in the world and produce 45 percent of the world's total food supply, but they receive only ten percent of the world's income and one percent of the world's property.

To focus this gender inequality in the workplace even more closely, a study conducted by Rush, Oukrop and Ernst (1972) highlights gender stratification in the field of journalism and

mass communication education. The study found that only seven to eight percent of the AEJ (Association for Education in Journalism) membership was women. A similar census 20 years later in 1992 of the AEJMC (Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication) membership conducted by Kosicki, Viswanath and Creedon found that females were only 28 percent of all mass communication faculties. This census also found that rank was a major area of inequality for women. More female faculty members were associate professors than full professors; roughly 45 percent of females in the field were associate professors, and only 13 percent were full professors. When compared to the statistics for men, the inequity is more striking; only 25 percent were associates, while 42 percent were full time professors. The level of administration fared no better for women. In a study conducted by Albers (2000), the 1993 publication, "Seventy-five Years of Journalism and Mass Communication Leadership: The History of the ASJMC," revealed that the 190 journalism and mass communication programs highlighted in the publication list a total of 979 administrators through 1992, and only 63, or roughly six percent, of the administrators were female.

Given the gender bias in the field of journalism and mass communication education, the overarching question must be asked: Why are women still denied access to the public sphere of the journalism and mass communication academy? This researcher believes that the answer lies not only in the study of how females are oppressed within the field but also in the extent to which those in power systematize the infrastructure of the field. Under this premise, this study explores how constructs of masculinity and their defining characteristics affect the systemic structure of journalism and mass communication education. The primary focus is on the administrators and senior associate/full professors who comprise the AEJMC culture.

Based on the findings from the literature review and the conclusions drawn from a 2002 update[1] of the original Rush, Oukrop and Ernst 1972 study of gender differentials and sex discrimination in the AEJMC, surveys were sent to 295 male and female senior associate/full professors and administrators (of whom 36 were self-reported minorities) from various

[1] The statistics used in this survey are preliminary data collected from the Rush et al. update

journalism and mass communication departments in the United States. The surveys allowed these individuals to interpret the aforementioned researchers' findings. Once the surveys were completed, the results were analyzed in comparison to the masculinity research by using a feminist rhetorical discourse.

Review of Current Literature

Much of the existing research on gender inequity in the workplace and the field of journalism and mass communication education is statistical in nature and examines gender holistically. However, to fully understand why inequity exists, one must examine how and why women are prevented from attaining levels of power and men, as the controlling majority, maintain power. The question must be asked: How can researchers understand the social forces behind patriarchy's infrastructure without understanding the gendering of men? As Michael Kimmel (1987), a leading figure in the field of sociology and men's studies, states, "Masculinity and femininity are relational constructs; the definition of either depends on the definition of the other. One cannot understand the social construction of either masculinity or femininity without reference to the other" (p. 12). How masculinity is constructed and maintained within the field of journalism and mass communication education must be examined because it largely appears to be a feminist assignment to date.

The problem is a distinct lack of detail and depth of theories of masculinity. Men's studies researchers Robert Hanke (1990; 1992; 1998), Robert Connell (1983; 1987), and Nick Trujillo (1991) have defined three constructs of masculinity: hegemonic, conservative and subordinated. Very few researchers have applied these masculine constructs to the workplace, and none found have applied them to gender inequity in the field of journalism and mass communication education. The majority of previous studies have heavily applied these constructs to television programming and print advertising. The following review of current literature in the field offers a detailed overview of the research on the various types of masculinities and highlights the scarce research that tests these constructs in practical application.

The Complexities of Masculinity

It is imperative that the meanings of the masculine as well as the construction of the feminine be examined in order to establish the ways in which "masculinity is an effect of culture, a construction, a performance, a masquerade rather than a universal and unchanging essence" (Cohan and Hark, 1993, p. 7). Kimmel (1996) has conducted much masculinity research that explains how men's studies defines masculinity as a problematic gender construct and not the over-generalized god of patriarchy whose sole purpose is to oppress women:

> Men's studies responds to the shifting social and intellectual contexts in the study of gender and attempts to treat masculinity not as the normative referent against which standards are assessed but as a problematic gender construct. Inspired by the academic breakthroughs of women's studies, men's studies addresses similar questions concerning the study of men and masculinity. As women's studies has radically revised the traditional academic canon, men's studies seeks to use that revision as the basis for its exploration of men and masculinity. (p. 2)

Kimmel also notes that men's studies in no way supplants women's studies but co-exists with it so that a more accurate portrait of gender relations can be constructed (1996, p. 2). Masculinity must stop being studied as an essential nature of man and start being analyzed as the multiple-form social construct that it is. All facets of masculinity must be explored in detail to uncover the foundation of patriarchal control.

Steve Craig (1992) expands on how masculinity has been defined as an essential cultural expectation of men's actions and beliefs:

> In modern American culture, part of this expectation is that men will participate in and support patriarchy, and the traditional characteristics of masculinity are made to seem so correct and natural that men find the domination and exploitation of women and other men to be not only expected but demanded. Men who find it difficult or objectionable to fit into the patterns of traditional masculinity often find themselves castigated and alienated. (p. 3)

David Buchbinder (1994) agrees that feminist theory has problematically conflated masculinity with patriarchy and, as a result, over-generalized masculinity as hegemonic domination of men over women (p. 33). The only way to change the systemic patriarchal power structure is for the male oppressor to examine how and whom he oppresses. If men realize how they oppress

women and other marginalized groups and the extent to which the oppression affects not only the lives of those who are oppressed but also the lives of the oppressor then perhaps an atmosphere for change could exist. Masculinity must be examined in its multiple, inherently complicated forms. Three constructs have been identified in the research and are explored below: subordinated masculinity, conservative masculinity, and hegemonic masculinity.

Type I: Subordinated Masculinity

In the surveyed literature, there seems to be a continuum of power in terms of masculine behavior, with subordinated masculine men being the lowest on the proverbial totem pole. According to existing research, subordinated masculinity is comprised primarily of homosexual and minority men. Even though sexual orientation remains an unmeasured variable in this study, it is important to note why gay men are considered subordinate to their hegemonic counterparts. According to Hanke (1992), "While the appearance of some gay male characters or themes may suggest a certain level of acceptance of homosexuals, the way in which gayness is constructed tends to define homosexuality as a negative symbol of masculine identity" (p. 195). Danna (1994) describes homosexuality as the ultimate threat to traditional masculine stereotypes:

> Another social change that challenges the previously dominant position of the heterosexual male is the emergence of a powerful gay movement. Gay publications and advertisements have entered the American mainstream, and gays are seeking equal social and economic rights. As a result, the once macho-oriented male image in America is changing. (p. 74)

Of course, it is imperative to note that even gay males may well affirm hegemonic patriarchal ideology, for they still reap the rewards of being male. They may be subordinated in relation to hegemonic males, but they still traditionally hold a position of male dominance over women. From this perspective, a man's sexuality does not dictate his masculinity; rather, his beliefs toward gender equality determine his masculine status.

Gay males do not stand alone in the troubled realm of subordination. Minority males also suffer from false categorization. While there are numerous races and ethnicities, the existing research predominantly discusses the white/black dichotomy. Kimmel (1987) indirectly discusses black masculinity in relation to hegemonic masculinity and states that while there is no one-to-one relationship between class, race and masculinity, it is argued that hegemonic masculinity in the United Sates is overwhelmingly the masculinity of white, ruling-class men. According to hegemonic tradition, there seems to be only one acceptable prototype of an American male: a white, upper-class, heterosexual, religious father, with a college education, who is fully employed in a corporate setting (Kimmel, 1996). Robert Moorell (1998) notes that working-class black men are excluded from or subordinate to hegemonic masculinity. Next on the continuum of male power is the conservative masculine male.

Type II: Conservative or "Negotiated" Masculinity

Hanke (1992) also coined another construct of masculinity known as conservative masculinity, which refers to "presenting a new view of manhood in which sensitive, nurturing men, aware of themselves and their feelings, take the spotlight" (Hanke, 1992, p. 192). This version of masculinity challenges the hyper-masculine version of hegemonic masculinity. Influenced by feminist ideals and ideology, it allows men to express their feelings and adopt a degree of femininity without being repudiated by male society. Given that the term "conservative" has cultural connotations of being rigid and unchanging, this researcher has chosen to refer to this construct as negotiated masculinity.

Buchbinder (1994) describes the negotiated masculine male as "gentler and less aggressive... more in harmony with the earth and with nature, less convinced of the authority and rightness of [hegemonic] male logic and more amenable to alternate ways of thinking" (p. 2).

However, as Pease (2000) notes, even a male who adopts pro-feminist ideology is under patriarchal influence:

> Pro-feminist men are not exceptional. They still occupy positions of dominance and they continue to embody much of the internalized domination of ordinary men. They are only different through their attempts to confront both their internalized domination and their dominant position. (p. 3)

Adopting feminist ideologies and showing emotion do not free men from patriarchal influence. Even those men who refuse to exert hegemonic dominance still receive the benefits of being male in a vastly male-dominated society. By now, it has probably become clear that hegemonic masculine males are at the top of the ladder of masculine control.

Type III: Hegemonic Masculinity

Hanke defines hegemonic masculinity as the "social ascendancy of what it means to be a man" and how certain men position themselves in positions of power over subjects of subordination (1992, p. 190). Connell (1995) states that hegemonic masculinity "requires the social construction of a hyper-masculine ideal of toughness and dominance" (p. 80) as well as the "subordination of women and the marginalization of gay men" (p. 93). Connell continues by stating that hegemony is likely to be established only if there is a correspondence between cultural ideal and institutional power (p. 77). "The top levels of business provide a fairly convincing corporate display of masculinity" (Connell, 1995, p. 77).

Trujillo (1991) expands the definition of hegemonic masculinity by identifying three its relevant features in U.S. media culture:

> (1) when power is defined in terms of physical force (particularly in the representation of the body), (2) when it is defined through occupational achievement in an industrial, capitalistic society, and (3) when it is represented in terms of familial patriarchy. (pp. 290-308)

Trujillo (1991) notes that masculinity is hegemonic when power is maintained through "physical force" and "control." According to Connell (1983), "Force and competence are... translations into the language of the body which defines men as holders of power. This is one of the ways in

which the superiority of men becomes naturalized" (p. 28). The male body represents power through physical strength and control.

Trujillo (1991) also states that masculinity is also hegemonic when defined through capitalistic achievement. Work is defined along gender lines. As Connell (1983) notes, "Hegemony closely involves the division of labor, the social definition of tasks as either men's work or women's work, and the definition of some kinds of work as more masculine than others" (p. 94). Patriarchal control, according to Trujillo (1991), is also a form of hegemonic masculinity. Men in control of the family unit, exerting dominance over their wives and children and filling the role of breadwinner define patriarchy's control. If the father exerts control over the family unit, he is truly hegemonic. For many men, their control in the business realm emulates the control they have over they family unit. Their jobs and those people who surround them become extensions of the family unit.

Connell and Trujillo's research can be extrapolated to the top levels of any organization in which there are positions of power. The correlation between institutional hegemonic power and gender representation is now clear: those men in power will subordinate those below them to retain control. This systemic power differential even exists in the academy, as noted earlier in research conducted in the 1970s and 1990s by Rush et al. This study examines a 2002 update of those original studies and applies masculinity constructs to determine why men still hold the majority of power and why women and minorities remain marginalized. Now that the three most common types of masculine behavior are in place, a closer examination of how masculinity affects the workplace is possible.

Work and Masculinity

The primary focus of this research is to examine how women are marginalized in the workforce, particularly in the arena of academics centered on mass communication and journalism. However, the gendering of labor takes place in a variety of forms: childcare, housework, factory work, corporate work, and education, just to name a few. Connell (1987) notes that this division of labor and subsequent subjugation of women gives men the chance to

participate in economic, cultural and political activities. To Connell (1987), the increased technical knowledge and expertise of men in the workforce form one type of work-related masculinity, "requiring total absorption in the development of skills uninterrupted by the demands of personal life" (p. 96). Women are not allowed the freedom from the demands of personal life, for they are forced into traditional caregiving roles which impede their ability to attain the technical skills needed to rise in the workforce. Connell (1987) states that unequal training combined with women's workplace vulnerability and male dominance creates a lack of confident work-related femininity; women become subordinated.

According to Cohen (2001), work has a particularly important meaning in men's lives (p. 276). Rising through the ranks is seen as a rite of passage, a male's entrance into manhood. Men's jobs define their status as the "hegemonic male" (Cohen, p. 276), and work is inextricably linked to masculinity. Men's success at work denotes their success at being men (Cohen, p. 276). Cohen also notes that, at the opposite end of that success spectrum, failure at work often symbolizes failure as a man. A failing of success in the workplace results in a damaged male identity. Allan Guggenbuhl (1997) relates the need for men to dominate the workforce to what he calls the "Columbus fantasy" (p. 119). The Columbus fantasy occurs when men see professional goals as undiscovered countries waiting to be conquered. According to Guggenbuhl (1997), "Climbing the career ladder gives them the feeling of exploring new worlds. For this reason, fulfilling the expectations of superiors is of primary importance for many men, and failures, stress, or unemployment trigger major subjective crises" (p. 119).

The obvious connection of success to masculinity can be compared to Trujillo's (1991) belief that masculinity is hegemonic when defined through capitalistic achievement. Since work is defined along gender lines (Connell, 1983), and men hold the majority of administration positions, when women try to enter into those positions, they are seen as a threat to men's hegemonic dominance. If male dominance is threatened or superseded by female influence, not only does the man lose control, but he loses his sense of manhood. He is castigated.

A study by Cohen (2001) demonstrates the extent of male dominance in the professional sphere. He explains that power is unevenly distributed, and women receive less recognition, support, and compensation than their male counterparts. Men reap certain benefits from their work experience that women do not. According to Cohen (2001), "Women are largely ghettoized in pink-collar occupations that place them on the underside of the wage gap... [they] are trapped to sticky floors beneath glass ceilings that bar their access to higher status, higher paying positions. Men ride glass escalators upward" (p. 278). When one thinks of the term "glass ceiling," images of skyscrapers, men in black pinstripe suits, women in skirts and blazers, and other general images of the corporate business world might pop into mind. The last place one (or at least this researcher before doing this study) would expect to find labor inequity is the academy. A common generalization for educators is that we understand the need for diversity and equality, but a closer examination of gender status in the academy tells a different story.

The Current Status of Women in Mass Communication and Journalism Education

> Therefore, be it resolved that the Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication (AEJMC) encourages its members and affiliates to have at least 50 percent of their faculties and administrations comprised of females and minorities by the year 2000. (Passed by the Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication, Washington, DC, August 1989)

This 1989 resolution, authored by AEJMC member Ramona Rush and passed by the AEJMC, was created to establish gender and minority equality in the organization and its affiliates. However, as will be discussed later, the resolution failed to achieve its primary goal. Before discussing the current state of women in the field of journalism and mass communication education, as found in the Rush et al. 2001[2] update of their previous study "(More Than You Ever Wanted to Know) About Women and Journalism Education," their 1972 conclusions need to be discussed as points of comparison.

[2] The actual updated survey was done in the summer of 2000; preliminary results were reported at the Dr. Donna Allen Memorial Symposium in Washington D.C. in August 2001, and the latest 2002 report of results can be seen in Rush's et al. forthcoming book. Any references and/or quotes should come from the 2002 version.

In 1972, Rush et al. found that a gross level of gender discrimination existed in the field of journalism and mass communication education. They found that only 131 women belonged to the AEJMC, out of a total of 1,200 members. That was a meager 11 percent of the overall membership. Perhaps the most shocking statistic of the 1972 study was that only 73 women, seven percent, comprised the total employed in journalism and mass communication faculties (Rush, Oukrop & Ernst, 1972). After examining these conclusions, it is clear why the 1989 resolution mentioned earlier was established to help end gender discrimination. However, was it a solution?

Since the original 1972 conducted by Rush et al., there have been a few significant changes. In 1972, there were 47 presidents who served the AEJMC since 1925; all were male (Rush, Oukrop & Ernst, 1972). In the 2002 update, Rush, Oukrop, Bergen and Andsager have found that, since 1983, there have been 19 presidents of the AEJMC, and nine of those have been women. Of the 14 members of the AEJMC Executive Committee in 1999-2000, 43 percent (6) were women, and 58 percent (35) of the 60 AEJMC division chairs and vice chairs listed on the 1999-2000 Council of Divisions were women (Rush, Oukrop, Bergen & Andsager, 2002). These are just a few of the gains women have made since the original study; however, it is imperative to note that these are "showcase" areas of involvement. In the more substantial areas of research and publication, arguably the backbone of the organization, a more significant gender imbalance exists.

Rush et al. (2002) note that of the 2002 JMCQ (*Journalism and Mass Communication Quarterly*) and JMCE (*Journalism and Mass Communication Educator*) article authors from 1989-2000, only 30 percent (616) were women. Of the 732 refereed paper presenters at the 2000 AEJMC convention, only 39 percent (288) were women, and of the 17 Paul J. Deutschmann Awards for Excellence in Research given between 1969 and 2000, only one was given to a

woman. These statistics indicate inequality and demonstrate how the 1989 resolution's goals have not been achieved, but, if there is any doubt, the area of teaching affirms this hypothesis.

The data from the 2001/2002 update shows that the goal of 50 percent parity of women in faculty and administration positions of journalism and mass communication has nót come to fruition. The numbers show that 38 percent (1172) of the 3059 members of the AEJMC in May 2001 were women; 31 percent (1401) of the faculty members of schools and departments of journalism and mass communication were women; 41percent (318) of the 767 assistant professors listed in the 1999-2000 directory were women; 34 percent (322) of the 989 associate professors listed in the 1999-2000 directory were women; and only 18 percent (156) of the 860 full professors listed in the 1999-2000 directory were women. Administrative positions fared no better. Only 25 percent (112) of the 443 top administrators listed in the 1999-2000 directory were women, and only 30 percent (126) of the 423 secondary administrators listed in the 1999-2000 directory were women. (Rush, Oukrop, Bergen & Andsager, 2002)

In the original study by Rush et al., the gender discrimination in the field fit under what Rush later coined as R^3 (Ratio of Recurrent and Reinforced Residuum). Rush (1982) describes this effect:

> [It is] an interesting phenomenon which looks as if there is some kind of a mystical 'ceiling' (or, more accurately for women, a 'flooring') effect in the form of a ratio of concentration in symbolic representation, occupational status, and/or salary levels for women. The ratio usually resides around a 1/4:3/4 or 1/3:2/3 proportion, female to male. (Rush, Buck & Ogan, 1982)

The R^3 effect still seems to thrive, despite all the studies beginning three decades ago and the 1989 resolution authored by Rush.

Other relevant findings from the Rush et al. 2002 update center on what female members identify as the most important areas of sexual discrimination. For example, 50%, or one out of two, female members of the AEJMC who responded to the 2000 study perceive sex

discrimination as a remaining deterrent to equality in the field, and 40 percent of the female members of the AEJMC who responded made salary by far the highest ranked category of sex discrimination.

With gender stratification in the professional sphere, including the field of journalism and mass communication education, the overarching question must be asked: Why are women denied access to upper-level positions? Again, this researcher believes that the answer lies not only in the study of how females are oppressed within the field but also in the extent to which men systematize the infrastructure of the field. Under this premise, this study explores how masculinity affects the systemic structure of journalism and mass communication education.

Methodology

The purposive sample used in this study was the administrators and senior associate/full professors who comprise the AEJMC. Based on the findings from the literature review and the preliminary conclusions drawn from the 2002 update of the original Rush, Oukrop and Ernst (1972) study[3], 295 potential survey participants were sent an electronic message requesting their participation. The participants were recruited based on their rank and position in the field of journalism and mass communication education. E-mail addresses for participants were obtained from the *Journalism and Mass Communication Directory 2000-2001*. All self-reported minorities (both men and women) and Caucasian women in the AEJMC who are full professors either with or without administrative experience were selected (a total of 35 minorities and 129 women), but, since the total number of men in AEJMC who are not a minority and are full professors with or without administrative experience (610) far exceeds the number of Caucasian women and self-reported minorities, a comparable number of Caucasian men (164) was randomly chosen from the AEJMC directory, of whom 130 had e-mail addresses. So, the final surveyed participants were: 35 self-reported minorities (male and female), 129 Caucasian women, and 130 Caucasian men.

All answers to the survey were anonymous. To ensure convenience, each participant was offered a choice of three response methods: the survey could be filled out online at comm.uky.edu/surveys/statusofwomen; the respondents could send e-mail responses as attachments, from which all name references were removed before the results were analyzed; or the respondents could have mailed an anonymous hard copy to the researcher's physical address.

The survey was sent in two waves. A survey of eight questions (see Appendix) was sent to women and minorities who are members of the Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication (AEJMC) and are full professors and/or administrators. The eight questions were organized into five primary sections: 1.) AEJMC membership, 2.) representation in academic units, 3.) authorship, 4.) issues, and 5.) awards. They were asked to offer interpretations of the eight conclusions comprising the survey instrument as well as their suggestions on how those conclusions could be improved, if they felt improvement is needed.

The second wave of the study consisted of sending the survey to the senior male participants who are either full professors and/or administrators in the AEJMC culture. They were also asked for their interpretations of the drawn conclusions as well as their suggestions for how the conclusions could be improved, if needed. Once all responses were received, they were evaluated, using a feminist rhetorical discourse analysis, against the theoretical masculinity framework presented in the surveyed literature.

Discourse Analysis

Critical discourse analysis focuses on the role of discourse in the reproduction of dominance and the challenges to it. Teun van Dijk (1993) defines dominance as the exercise of social power by elite institutions or groups that results in social inequality. A dominant group reproduces social power by limiting another group's access to socially valued resources such as

[3] See survey instrument in Appendix for the findings used from the 2002 Rush et al. update

wealth, income, social status and group membership. The dominant groups use discourse (rhetorically-charged language) as a means of managing the minds of the dominated so that they accept dominance out of their own free will (p. 255).

Critical discourse analysis exposes the underlying meanings inherent in text, talk and communicative events in order to understand what structures and strategies of discourse play a role in the reproduction of dominance. These strategies include: a) legitimation -- it is natural, necessary or appropriate for one group to be privileged over another; b) denial --there is no dominance. All members of our society have equal access to social resources; c) positive self-presentation/negative other-presentation -- emphasis is placed on the dominant group's tolerance, help and sympathy while negative actions of "others" are presented as deviant, threatening, inexcusable and generalizable to the entire group; and d) rhetorical figures --use of euphemisms and denials; e) storytelling -- telling of events as personal justification.

Category Formation

Given there was a number of qualitative, open-ended data to analyze, a grounded theory approach was used to organize the responses into working categories. Glaser and Strauss (1967) developed grounded theory, also called constant comparative analysis, in 1967. Strauss and Corbin (1990) suggest that grounded theory is a technique that can be used to develop categories and ground those categories in data, which, in turn, supports the existence of a theory. Once initial data is collected, the researcher begins open coding of the data looking for patterns. Coding involves dividing the data into concepts, categories of concepts, and assigning properties to categories based on other theoretical frameworks (Strauss & Corbin, 1990, p. 61). Once the raw data are thoroughly analyzed, the formed categories become saturated with rich examples from the data.

After reading through the varying responses from the survey participants, and coding those responses based on key words, four primary categories of responses emerged. In this study, each response fits into one of the following categories:

1. The statistics offered in the survey are too low and reflect obvious gender and ethnic inequality; more active women and minorities are needed in the field.

2. The statistics are par for the course, given that women and minorities have only recently become interested in the field; these numbers show progress, which takes time.

3. These numbers seem to reflect equality, given the low membership numbers. No problem exists.

4. Women and minorities would rather enter the business world or teach and not do research. No real problem exists except in the minds of a few.

In the following discussion of the results, each section of the survey and its corresponding statistics are analyzed separately using the four aforementioned categories. The discussion is broken into three groups: minority respondents, female respondents, and male respondents, but before each group is analyzed, overall results are discussed.

Overall Results

Of the overall 295 potential survey participants, 214 responded, which results in an overall return rate of 69 percent. The total gender breakdown of the returning survey participants was 98 women, or 46 percent, and 116 men, or 54 percent. Of the 25 total minorities who responded, five were women and 19 were men, or 20 percent women and 80 percent men.

In terms of administrative experience, the percentages break down even further. Of the 295 possible participants, the following people responded:

1. Self-reported minorities who are full professors with ***no*** administration experience - 20 out of 29 (69 %); five were women and 15 were men; of the five women, two identified themselves as African-American, one as Asian, one identified as Hispanic, and one identified as "other."

2. Self-reported minorities who are full professors ***with*** administrative experience - 4 out of 7 (57 %); all four are men, 2 of whom identify as African-American, one as Asian, and the last as "other."

3. Caucasian women who are full professors with ***no*** administrative experience - 81 out of 110 (74 %)

4. Caucasian women who are full professors ***with*** an administrative background - 12 out of 19 (63%)

5. Caucasian men who are full professors with ***no*** administrative experience - 52 out of 65 (80%)

6. Caucasian men who are full professors ***with*** an administrative background - 45 out of 65 (69 %)

Now that the *inter*group statistics have been presented, the *intra*group findings from the survey responses need to be explored.

Discussion of Results

The discussion section of the results given by the survey participants only offers a sample of the total open-ended responses and is divided into three sections: self-reported minority responses, female responses, and male responses. Each response is grounded in one of the four categories discussed earlier, so, to better understand the findings, each survey section and its corresponding statistics are analyzed separately to determine the underlying meanings behind the discourse. The researcher chose to quote only a sample of the respondents who represented the various interpretations received by the overall group of participants.

Minority Responses

Overall, of the 24 minority responses received, the four emerging categories discussed on page 16 were represented in the following manner: 12 male respondents adhere to category one and believe the survey statistics reflect a need for more equity in female and minority representation. That 50 percent of the minority participants believe more equity is needed reflects the belief that those who are subordinated by their hegemonic counterparts are more apt

to be sympathetic to the cause. Subordinated individuals more readily recognize their subordinated state and its causes. According to van Dijk (1993), this would reflect the legitimation of the problem's existence and not the legitimation of the problem itself.

Six male participants reflect category two and believe that these statistics reflect progress and that change takes time, and an equal number, six, portray category three and agree that there seems to be no real problem because these numbers reflect the number of women and minorities in the field. This belief also follows the theory of subordination as discussed by gender theorists, for often those in a state of subordination eventually come to accept their status as normalized, thus, any ill effects stemming from the naturalized status is also seen as normal. Hence the "no-real- problem-exists" response. This is also an example of van Dijk's (1993) legitimation theory but instead of legitimating the existence of the problem, the respondents legitimate the problem itself.

Of the 24 total respondents, five are women, of whom three believe more equity is needed, one feels a drastic change for the better has taken place over the years, and one woman believes there is no real problem in representation. When individual survey sections are analyzed, some interesting points are noted.

Section I: AEJMC Membership

The primary question centering this research project concerns the number of women and minorities in the organization. The statistics from the 2002 Rush et al. study show that 38 percent (1172) of the 3059 members of the AEJMC in May 2001 were women and only 7.7 percent (236) were self-reported minorities. The majority of the minority responses concerning membership are echoed by one Asian male respondent who states, "There is a gross lack of minority and female representation in this organization; however, as time changes, these numbers will hopefully increase." According to discourse analysis, this response is a positive-presentation

of women and minorities because it depicts them as the oppressed; meanwhile, while not explicitly stated, those hegemonic males are negatively presented as the oppressors. The respondent exhibits negotiated masculine signs of true sympathy for the cause.

However, the key term in this response is "hopefully," for it supports the belief that the AEJMC is moving in the right direction; but, when one takes into account the failure of the 1989 resolution to encourage academic units to reach parity in its gender and minority cumulative representation, one is left asking the question, how much more time is needed for equality to exist? Over the course of thirty years since Rush's et al. (1972) original study, the AEJMC is still 12 percent short of reaching gender equity, and in terms of minority representation, as one female African-American respondent states, "7.7 percent is not even a drop in the bucket when it comes to progress; I'm not sure if these people feel threatened by us or if they think we are just ignorant, but I know this: if someone tells me that 7.7 percent representation is fair and equitable, I would rightly question his mental state. Obviously, those who haven't walked in our shoes do not understand what true equity means." This response is a much more obvious representation of a subordinate's negative (justly so) attitude toward her hegemonic counterpart.

Section II: Representation in Academic Units

Questions about the following statistics regarding women and minorities in the academy (only in the field of journalism and mass communication) were asked each survey participant. Each respondent was asked to offer his/her interpretation of each of the following statistics given in the five survey sections. The statistics in section two are:

1.) 38 percent (1172) of the 3059 members of the AEJMC in May 2001 were women. 7.7 percent (236) were self- reported minorities.

2.) 31 percent (1401) of the 4511 faculty members of schools and departments of journalism and mass communication presented in the 1999-2000 JMC Directory were female and 9 percent (371) were self- reported minorities.

3.) 41 percent (318) of the 767 assistant professors listed in the 1999-2000 directory were women. 15 percent (114) were self- reported minorities.

34 percent (322) of the 989 associate professors listed in the 1999-2000 directory were women. 9 percent (84) were self- reported minorities.

18 percent (156) of the 860 full professors listed in the 1999-2000 directory were women. 4 percent (38) were self- reported minorities.

4.) 25 percent (112) of the 443 top administrators listed in the 1999-2000 directory were women. 4.5 percent (20) self- reported minorities.

30 percent (126) of the 423 secondary administrators listed in the 1999-2000 directory were women. 7 percent (17) were self- reported minorities.

The responses to these statistics follow closely to the previous section. The majority of minorities believe there is a lack of female and minority representation in the top areas of communication education, thus exhibiting subordinate masculine characteristics of disdain toward their subordinated status. One female professor, who identified her race as "other," believes that "issues like these need to be discussed. I am sickened by the lack of equity across the board." Her response is indicative of the inherent antagonism toward both gender and minority inequity among many of the minority participants. However, one African-American male offers a different response. He states, "Well, there is a definite lack of minorities in all the top areas of the education hierarchy, but I believe this fact is overshadowed in much research, including this survey. Gender issues always take top billing in these types of studies." This statement is interesting in several levels. While the respondent acknowledges the lack of minority representation, he disregards gender inequity. His response embodies van Dijk's (1993) theory that discourse reproduces dominance. The participant exhibits a state of denial where gender inequity is concerned, and he offers a negative presentation of researchers who study gender and race simultaneously.

Section III: Authorship

Questions about the following statistics regarding women and minorities in research areas of the AEJMC were asked of each survey participant:

1.) 30 percent (616) of the 2022 article authors from 1989-2000 were women; 10 percent (202) were minorities

2.) 39 percent (288) of the 732 refereed paper presenters at the 2000 AEJMC convention were women; 13 percent (94) were minorities

The area of research offers an array of responses. The majority of interpretations reflect that there has been a distinct influx of women in the area of research over the past 30 years and that the numbers will continue to rise over time. One Asian male respondent states, "I am glad to see women have made great strides; hopefully, they will continue." This strain of response epitomizes van Dijk's denial phase of discourse, for the respondent implicitly denies that a problem exists but legitimates that positive change is taking place. But, an equal number of responses deny that there has ever been a problem in the area of research. According to one African-American female, "These numbers seem to be in compliance with the number of female and minority members." While she acknowledges the lack of overall diversity in the organization, she does not acknowledge the disproportionate amount of research conducted by those Caucasian women and minorities (both male and female) who are already members of the organization; their lack of authorship becomes falsely legitimated. Such a response shows how the minority has been socialized by the hegemonic majority to believe that their subordinate status is natural. Thus, hegemonic dominance is reified.

Section IV: Issues

Two statistics offered for interpretation concern salary and sex discrimination:

1.) 40 percent of the female members of the AEJMC who responded to a 2000 study made salary the only double-digit ranked category of sex discrimination, with 9 percent being the next closest percentage.

2.) 50 percent, or one out of two, female members of the AEJMC who responded to a 2000 study perceive sex discrimination as a remaining deterrent to equality in the field.

Responses to these statistics are relatively uniform. All of the female minority respondents express concern over the discrimination issue, which, at least on the surface, legitimates the existence of the problem. One African-American female states, "I know I have had some problems in my department with female graduate students being harassed by certain male members of the faculty. All we can do is complain." However, even though the problem is recognized, there is a sense of hopelessness among women concerning a solution. This response shows that the problem can be recognized by those in a state of subordination while at the same time they have been socialized by the hegemonic elite to believe the solution to the problem is unattainable; thus, hegemonic dominance is legitimated.

The male responses to this issue are quite different, for even though all express concern, five males question the definition of sex discrimination. One male believes "some people protest without knowing exactly what it is they are protesting." While not necessarily in a total state of denial, this response reflects van Dijk's (1993) stage of negative-other-presentation. Males recognize the existence of the problem, but the blame for the problem is placed on women who are unsure of what constitutes sex discrimination. In terms of salary, there were no significant differences in the individual responses. All minority members believe salary is a clear line of contestation. One self-reported "other" female respondent sums up the overall belief: "Of course we [women and minorities] receive less pay than our white male colleagues. That is not in question; the real question that should be asked is how much of a difference exists."

Section V: Awards

The last statistic in the survey centers on recognizing research excellence: 6 percent (1) of the 17 Paul J. Deutschmann Awards for Excellence in Research given between 1969 and 2000 went to a woman; no minorities have received the award. Of the responses received from sampled minority participants, only two commented on the Deutschmann Award. One female

states she does not know enough about the award to comment, and an Asian male states, "If you don't do the research, you can't win the award." The male's response is a classic example of legitimation: since minorities are not doing the bulk of the research, they naturally will not win the research awards. This belief not only reifies hegemonic control, but it devalues the research being done by the few minorities who are present in the organization.

Caucasian Female Responses

Given that administrative experience did not seem to have an obvious influence on the Caucasian female participants' responses, all responses received by non-minority female respondents are discussed collectively. Overall, of the 93 responses received from female full professors, 32 percent (30) believe the survey statistics reflect a need for more equity in female and minority representation. 43 percent, or 40 participants, believe that the survey statistics reflect progress and that change takes time, and 25 percent (23) agree that there seems to be no real problem because these numbers reflect the number of women and minorities in the field. This statistical breakdown is as disheartening as it is shocking. Only 30 (32 percent) of non-minority female respondents see a need for further investigation of the sexism and racism problems in the organization. Respondents representing this belief recognize the severity of the problem and legitimate the need for change.

However, the remaining 68 percent (63) delegitimate the extent of the problem. They either believe there is no real problem, thus reifying the current hegemonic system and denying the existing problems, or they feel the system is changing for the better and that such change takes time. Either way, the answer is clear: more non-minority women are in a state of denial concerning the inherent problems of the AEJMC, which agrees with the Rush et al (2002) findings. When the responses to individual sections of the survey were analyzed, they reveal

much the same scenario. While each section is discussed separately, the individual statistics will not be repeated because of space limitations.[4]

Section I: AEJMC Membership

Concerning the number of women and minorities in the organization, the majority of female respondents believe that 38 percent female membership is an improvement and reflects positive change. One respondent states, "Things are looking better than they were 30 years ago." Another participant comments, "Woman have made obvious gains in AEJMC." And, yet another respondent believes "change takes time and this percentage is much better than the past percentages in these types of studies." This response supports van Dijk's (1993) denial category of discourse. The "time" argument has been historically used to support the dominant ideology's control over the subordinated. This response also reflects van Dijk's (1993) positive self-presentation discourse construct. Women feel the dominant group is tolerant of their concerns and have enacted change, but "that change takes time." This belief affirms hegemonic control.

However, there are a few respondents who did comment on and challenge the discrimination present in membership. One member states, "There is no debate; the numbers should be 50 percent, and anything else is totally unacceptable." Other comments reflect the same attitude: "Looks like the organization favors men over women;" "[this statistic] reflects a gross level of discrimination against women and minorities;" and one woman sums up the belief of women in this category by stating, "Those are despicable percentages; the good old white boys certainly have strong hold on this organization's throat." These responses legitimate the problem's existence and show the need for a change in the current hegemonic system of leadership.

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[4] For a breakdown of statistics in each section see pp. 19-23 under "minority responses"

Section II: Representation in Academic Units

Regarding women and minority representation in the academy, the responses echo the previous section. Again, the majority of responses reflect a sense of denial (van Dijk, 1993) among female members of the organization. As for the first statistic concerning female and minority faculty representation, one respondent states, "Things are looking better than they were 30 years ago, especially at the beginning levels." This is another classic state of hegemonic socialization. The numbers increase slightly over 30 years and suddenly there is no problem; the increase supersedes the forgotten fact that the 1989 resolution passed by the organization called for equity, not slight improvement.

Another participant actually places the blame for the lack of female and minority faculty members on women and minorities. She states, "Academic careers in professional fields are difficult at the early stages for individuals who cannot devote work-time, plus a significant amount of other time to the development of their careers. Additionally, women and minorities often find non-academic and non-professional careers more satisfying."

This response affirms the hegemonic belief that women cannot have successful professional careers because of their other responsibilities in the home and other more traditional "feminine" areas. As noted earlier by Connell (1987), the expertise of men in the workforce form one type of work-related masculinity, "requiring total absorption in the development of skills uninterrupted by the demands of personal life" (p. 96). Women are not allowed the freedom from the demands of personal life; they are forced into traditional caregiving roles. What one must ask is why do some women buy into this essentialist belief?

Conversely to the previous responses, many females recognize the level of discrimination against women and minorities in the academy and challenge the current hegemonic system. One woman states, "We [women and minorities] receive less encouragement or less support from

their academic programs than white men do." Another respondent upholds this belief by saying, "[This is due to] previous discriminatory hiring practices and slow turnover." Perhaps the most telling testimonial states, "I am so tired of having to fight for what is mine to begin with; when will these white, male-privileged control fanatics realize they are pushing us down." These responses epitomize van Dijk's negative self-presentation construct of discourse, for those who hold hegemonic control of the system are presented as the deviants in the communicative act. At the same time, these responses also legitimate the existence of the problem.

The statistics regarding professors' ranks points to another contested area of gender discrimination. Most respondents legitimate the current discrimination by supporting van Dijk's (1993) positive self-presentation construct. They believe that a new mindset for change exists in the academy but that change will take time. One states, "Another example of slow but forward progress; it takes a while for women to work their way through the system." Another respondent exhibits signs of classic denial (van Dijk, 1993) by stating "Promotion practices are improving." She says this despite the fact that only 18 percent of women are full professors, even though more women are in the position to be promoted, with roughly 40 percent in assistant and associate positions. The problem is best stated by a more cynical respondent, "The time argument fails to impress me. The major factor, I suspect, is that the whole tenure and promotion routine has been defined and administered by the white male establishment."

The last group of administration statistics revealed the same response. Most respondents agree that more women would be in administration positions over time, which is another example of van Dijk's (1993) positive self-presentation construct of the dominant ideology's legitimation. The construct of denial is also upheld with one female respondent stating that these statistics are positive. By stating, "these numbers reflect some very positive actions taken in this

organization to create equality for all," she neglects the fact that only 25 percent of women are in top administrative positions, which perfectly fits Rush's (1982) R^3 hypothesis.

Section III: Authorship

The statistics regarding women in research areas of the AEJMC yield different responses than previous sections. Even though there are numerous responses that deny the existence of a problem in female and minority authorship, many more feel there is a legitimate problem. Of those participants who are in denial, one states, "Women and minorities are publishing at about the appropriate rate for their numbers in the academy, so there doesn't seem to be a problem." And, yet another reifies the hegemonic control that has prevented equality. She states, "I believe this mirrors society. Men are more aggressive and dominant and in higher positions, so, naturally, they get published more, promoted more, and receive higher salaries." She offers no suggestions for improvement; rather, she states, "That is just how things are." Not only does she reify hegemonic dominance, she legitimates its effects on women and minorities. One woman goes so far as to say, "[I am] not sure I believe this statistic because the majority of authors in journals I read are women."

Also reifying male hegemonic control of research in the field are those female respondents who state they do not have time to do research because of family issues. One participant states, "With the birth of my two daughters and the needs of the rest of my family, I simply do not have the time to research. I leave that for my husband." It is imperative to note that these responses detailing the lack of time for women to publish and research because of family issues echoes Trujillo's (1991) definition of hegemonic masculinity being defined through patriarchal control. Women are encouraged by a male-dominated society to stay in caregiving roles within the family unit and are not encouraged to seek successful careers. For a female to

uphold this hegemonic construct shows the extent to which women are socialized to believe in patriarchal ideology; the women take care of the family while the men do the professional work.

Another interesting response came from a female respondent who finds the 30 percent female authorship a distinct improvement over the meager eight percent found in 1972 by Rush et al. However, she states that the current percentage is still shy of parity. The difference in this response is that this respondent does not believe there is bias in the selection process. She states, "I don't think we can blame this low number on men; rather, women need to recognize they perpetuate their own unequal status by not joining the field." While not even identifying with women (note the use of the word "them" in her response) she believes the low percentage is due to low numbers of women in the academy; however, Rush et al. (2002) found this to be a weak argument. They found that at least 40 percent of dissertation authors in Ph.D. abstracts 1989-2000 were women and 23 percent were minorities. Combine that with the 31 percent of women already in the academy, and the 30 percent authorship should be higher. This respondent could also be supporting van Dijk's (1993) denial element of discourse. The discourse in her response seems to deny that there is male dominance in the field; rather, she places the blame on the lack of women in the academy.

Similar responses were given for the 39 percent female paper-presenter statistic. The slightly higher percentage, according to one respondent, is due to graduate students and new faculty members taking the initiative to publish, perhaps out of the need to prove themselves in the field. However, it is important to note that the 39 percent is still well below parity and could reflect the gender bias reported in the literature review. The research supports the fact that feminist research is not taken seriously by the hegemonic elite.

Even though many non-minority female responses legitimate hegemonic control, there are those who recognize the inherent problem in research. One participant states, "A definite bias

exists in the selection and review process," and another poses the question "if the research was done by a woman, how could it be significant? Especially since a goodly portion of the qualitative research is done by women." Even though these responses question the lack of female authorship, they offer no suggestions for improvement. One respondent even states, "I would say more women need to research, but then I wonder if they did, would they really get published."

Section IV: Issues

The last two surveyed statistics concern salary and sex discrimination. Concerning salary, the overall responses indicate that of the 97 male respondents, 53 (55 percent) earn more than their female colleagues with the same reported salaries and years of experience. However, even given the level of disparity in salaries, many female respondents do not believe disparity exists; they are either in denial or they legitimate the salary inequity. One female even questions the statistics presented her; she states, "I need to see salary comparisons to believe this."

Another respondent in denial states, "The women I know make comparable salaries to their male counterparts." She refuses to acknowledge the problem; rather, she relies on her personal experiences to legitimate the present system. Lastly, one female reifies the hegemonic control men have over the system. She states, "Women faculty members obviously think they are underpaid. Whether this is a 'woman' thing or not depends on how the male faculty members at their institutions feel." This respondent does not give women the option to question their status in the academy without asking male colleagues their opinions. This respondent not only reifies male hegemonic control but it also strips women of any power they have to question their subordinate status. These combined responses are interesting given that the majority of

women in Rush's et al 2002 update state that salary[5] is the number one area of discrimination in journalism and mass communication education.

However, as in previous sections, there are female members who question the hegemonic status quo. One respondent describes the salary problem as the "tendency to bring women in at lower salaries for various reasons, and since salary increases are percentage-based, the inequality follows us throughout our careers in academe." Another response compares salary inequity to inequality in research. She states, "Salary increases tend to follow research productivity and often women are placed in situations less supportive of research efforts." Lastly, one participant claims that she is afraid to question her salary inequity because she fears the consequences: "I agree that my salary is much less than men I know in the department. But, I refuse to say anything because of repercussions." These responses show a legitimate problem exists.

Section V: Awards

The Deutschmann award is one of the more obvious areas of discrimination, according to those few respondents who chose to comment. As one female respondent states, "It is possible we [women and minorities] were deterred from entering because of a perception we could not win." She continues by saying that they were probably not nominated by their male colleagues. This response is at the heart of the problem: women's research is not taken seriously.

Caucasian Male Responses

Male responses to the survey questions are interesting because those who hold the majority of power finally offer their interpretations of the problems identified by women and minorities. Whereas administrative experience did not affect female responses to the survey, there are significant differences in the male responses. Of those 52 male responses from male

[5] See Rush's et al. forthcoming book for details

full professors with no administrative experience, 48 percent (25) state that the statistics offered in the survey are too low and that more active women and minorities are needed; 17 percent (9) correspond with the belief that the statistics show progress, which takes time; 21 percent (11) state that there seems to be no real problem and that the numbers reflect membership; and 13 percent (7) believe that there is no problem because the field is inherently male-centered. Men **without** administrative experience exhibit more negotiated masculine signs than their administrative counterparts. Almost half show concern for the subordinate status of Caucasian women and minorities (male and female).

However, of those 45 male professors **with** administrative experience, only 29 percent (13) feel the statistics are too low and that more women and minorities are needed in the field, a much lower number of men who show concern for the status of women and minorities in the field; 24 percent (11) of the male participants believe the statistics show progress; 38 percent (17) state there is no problem in representation; and nine percent (4) reflect that there is no problem because the field is rightly male-dominated.

Men with administrative experience demonstrate more hegemonic masculine qualities than those males who lack administrative experience. This could be for a variety of reasons, one being age. Older males who were in positions of power before and during the feminist movement of the 60s and 70s are apt to act from a more hegemonic male standpoint than those who were adopted into the system after the changes as a result of the movement took place. A closer examination of the survey sections reveals much the same story.

Section I: AEJMC Membership

Concerning the number of women and minorities in the organization, those males who express concern echo their female colleagues. One male states, "I am glad to see the lack of diversity in our organization is being researched. Hopefully, research like this will mobilize all

those who feel a change needs to take place so that we can diversify." Another male states, "These numbers are pitiful, especially the extremely low number of minorities. What's going on with this institution?" Other responses are short but reflect concern: "We need more equal representation;" "sounds like a legitimate problem;" and "steps should be taken to recruit more women and minorities." All of these interpretations exhibit trepidation about the status of the AEJMC. These males speak from a more negotiated masculine tone, one of concern, feeling, and emotion. They are not exerting their privilege over those who have been subordinated by their hegemonic counterparts, but it must be noted, that even though these men do express concern, which counters the traditional male hegemonic tone of denial or legitimation, they do not offer suggestions to help reach parity. Also, even men who act concerned still benefit from the male-privileged system.

Even though there are male responses that recognize the problem of unequal representation, there are numerous responses that reify traditional hegemonic masculine control. One such response states, "Seems like a pretty equal number to me given that the field is inherently male." Another believes "while these percentages might seem low at first glance, this is not a reflection of inequality. These numbers for 2001 are likely higher than previous years." And, yet another male states, "This is not a problem; for years, women and minorities have blamed us for discrimination that simply does not exist. For an act to be discriminatory it must defy natural selection. Top level positions are inherently male-centered." These responses are classic cases of denial, as defined by van Dijk (1993). These males deny that discrimination exists and support the subordination of women and minorities. Males with such responses exhibit hyper-hegemonic characteristics, for while the respondents deny a problem exists, they also legitimate the low numbers of women by stating that the field is inherently male-centered. As noted in the literature review, women who attempt to enter a male-dominated field threaten a

man's hegemonic control, so men legitimate their absence to maintain authority. One male response supports this hypothesis. He states, "Women certainly seem to get elected to many of the major offices so it would be very hard to suggest there is any discrimination against women in AEJMC. As for minorities, I believe minorities can make much more money in business and other fields than journalism and communication education."

Section II: Representation in Academic Units

Regarding women and minority representation in the academy, the responses to 31 percent of journalism and mass communication faculty members being female vary. Most male respondents believe that these numbers reflect the number of women in the academy: "These statistics coincide with the membership numbers given earlier;" "Given that women and minorities are relatively new in the field, these numbers seem to reflect reality;" and "I seriously believe these numbers will increase in the next few years." While denying the existence of discrimination in the field, these responses have been proven fallacious by Rush et al. (2002). The number of women either in the academy as a professor of rank or as a Ph.D. ready to enter a faculty position is approximately 10 percent higher than these numbers indicate (Rush et al., 2002). Women are ready to enter the academy, but they are denied access by the hegemonic white male majority. Systemic discrimination is firmly in place and proves to be a flooring effect (Rush, 1982) for women's equality in the field. To deny this discrimination exists reifies dominant hegemonic masculine ideology as noted by Trujillo (1991), Connell (1990, 1995) and Hanke (1990, 1992).

Regarding rank, the non-minority responses again reflect a classic denial of the problem. Most male respondents give the "time takes change" excuse. One professor even states "Maybe in 10 years, we will see these numbers increase even more." Such a response denies the extent of the problem. It does recognize a problem exists, but it does not acknowledge the depth of the

problem or its effects. It gives women and minorities a false sense of hope. However, considering it has been 30 years, and women are still under the R^3 flooring effect (Rush et al., 1982), ten years will not make a difference until the hegemonic elite recognizes and admits discrimination exists.

Another male respondent reifies his hegemonic dominance by placing the blame for the low numbers of representation on women and minorities, thus creating a negative-presentation, as defined by van Dijk (1993), of women and minorities entering the field. He states, "None of these people are interested in making the lifestyle sacrifices necessary to climb the ranks and enter administration." He even reverses the discrimination by stating, "Personally, as a male, I believe I have been discriminated against within journalism education." Not only does he deny the existence of the problem, but he turns the proverbial table on those women and minorities who suffer from the denied discrimination.

As for the last set of statistics concerning administration positions, male responses again remain mostly negative. Most state that change takes time, which follows the same observed pattern in this study: that the problem of discrimination is recognized by most but its effects and severity are explained away by the "change takes time" argument that Rush et al have proven false. But one male participant takes denial one step further. He states, "I am happy to see the numbers are this high." For anyone to say that a 1:3 ratio of females to males in top and secondary administration positions is equitable and worth deeming a 'high' number, is to deny the problem altogether. Not only does denial affirm hegemonic ideology, it also legitimates white, hegemonic male privilege (van Dijk, 1993).

Section III: Authorship

Concerning female authorship and paper presenters, most males answered from a hegemonic standpoint by supporting van Dijk's (1993) denial construct. Responses range from

"If more men are in the field, more research will be done by men" to "men research more than women; that is just a fact of life." These responses typically reify hegemonic male dominance in the field.

Regarding the 30 percent of female authors and the 39 percent of female paper presenters, most responses reflected a belief that these statistics are positive changes caused by more women "pervading" the field. They deny a discrimination problem exists, and the language one male uses (pervading) even rhetorically points to women interfering in the traditionally male-dominated culture. This supports Cohen's (2001) study that demonstrates the male dominance in the professional sphere. He points out that even though power is unevenly distributed, and women receive less recognition, support, and compensation than their male counterparts, men will place a positive spin on the situation, even though men view women as a threat to their professional hegemonic control. The respondent states, "The numbers reflect a positive change, given that women have been pervading the field over the past few years."

However, some responses did not bother with the positive spin. One male states, "I am tired of these old arguments. Minorities will blame racism and women will blame sexism. And both will complain when men begin to blame women and minorities for the reverse." And, one male believes "I know of many women who have not taken the steps to capitalize on their professional careers. They would rather be somebody's spouse, mother, etc. than they would be free to give 110 percent to their research." This feeds the classic argument that women cannot have professional careers because their time should be devoted to more traditional feminine duties. These types of responses both reify and justify hegemonic male dominance. According to this ideology, women and minorities should be happy with their subordinate status and stop complaining, a belief that exemplifies hegemonic masculinity.

Section IV: Issues

With 40 percent of females in mass communication and journalism feeling they are being discriminated against in terms of salary, the male response is one of affirmation. Surprisingly, this seems to be the only area of this survey where men offer a detailed explanation of the problem and exhibit unified negotiated masculine beliefs. One male states, "I think they [women and minorities] should receive equal pay as long as they do the work and as long as my pay is not affected." This response shows that even though someone may exhibit concern, the hegemonic standpoint dictates that the position of privilege must be maintained. One male even states that women should consider filing lawsuits to solve the problem; however, even though he acknowledges the problem, one must question the privileged white male's motive. Is he acting from a negotiated masculine perspective of pro-feminist ideology, or is he simply reaffirming his hegemonic control by recommending legal action. When one examines the controlling infrastructure of the legal system, it is known to be a patriarchal, male-dominated boys club, and, as Cohen (2001) notes, men protect each other. A false sense of acknowledgement is worse than discrimination.

There are some men, however, who truly acknowledge salary inequity and exhibit concern for the discrimination in salary. One states, "If the number of women who believe there is a problem is this large, we should revisit our salary and promotion guidelines. To be productive, our departments must reflect more equity." Another believes "women have a definite leg to stand on in terms of the salary dispute. Our school has initiated a salary equity review as a result of unease among our female faculty."

Concerning sex discrimination, very few responses were given. Out of 97 non-minority male responses, only **three** responded to sex discrimination issues. And even they questioned the existence of the problem. All three responses are summed up by this response: "I would have

to have specific examples and know how they define sex discrimination to believe this is so abundant." While these responses deny the extent of the problem, the absence of the other 94 responses might accurately reflect the real interpretations of this statistic: 1.) a fear of being exposed or 2.) a genuine lack of concern; either way hegemonic males protect each other.

Section V: Awards

The Deutschmann award statistic is interpreted differently than other statistics. While many men did not comment on this section of the survey, more males believe women are being discriminated against in the area of awards than they did in the area of research. One states, "I believe it is time for more women and minorities to receive the benefits they deserve." While this belief can be seen as a negotiated masculine belief, it also reflects an inherent contradiction in male interpretations, for if there is discrimination in the awards for research, there must be discrimination in the realm of research itself. Contradictions aside, for men to admit male bias toward women exists is an indication of pro-feminist ideology (Hanke, 1992). However, to a cynic, their response could also be seen as a mere reaction to a statistic that so reflects discrimination, it would be unwise to justify it. If one accepts the negotiated pro-feminist belief, it must be noted that even a male who adopts pro-feminist ideology still reaps the benefits from patriarchal dominance (Pease, 2001).

One male participant maintains his hegemonic masculine belief that women and minorities have not been active long enough to achieve the Deutschmann award. Over a period of thirty years, as the research shows, women have become more prevalent in the field, although be it not an equal gain, the fact still remains that women have been in the field from 1969-2000. So, why has only one woman and no minority ever achieved this high status? Again, one must only examine the literature, which tells us that a male dominated culture supports itself (Cohen, 2001). Women are not considered to be productive researchers. As one male states, "This award

reflects excellence in quantitative studies; women are more qualitative." This response reflects van Dijk's (1993) belief that those in power will legitimate their power by saying their control is appropriate and that it is natural for one group to be privileged over another, to say nothing of the legitimation given to quantitative research over qualitative research.

Where Do We Go From Here?

As these results show, there is still a troubling level of sexual discrimination against women and minorities in the field of journalism and mass communication education. The female survey responses, for the most part, affirm the existence of sexism barriers in research, academe and in the area of salary. While some male respondents exhibit negotiated masculine signs of concern and despair, the majority of male responses affirm that the hegemonic systemic structure that causes the discrimination is still very much alive and strong. Most responses legitimate male privilege and/or deny the existence of male privilege altogether, which, when combined with the research on masculinity constructs, supports the existence of a hegemonic masculine stronghold on the field. White, middle-to-upper class men are in control and have no qualms about justifying their subordination of minority males and all females.

It is not enough to say that women are denied access to the top levels of journalism and mass communication field solely because of these hegemonic males, but the males' positions of dominance, and constant reification of power certainly are the large portion of blame. However, one female respondent offers a suggestion that also is at the root of the problem: "What we **do not** need are white male clones in skirts." This response speaks to a major finding in this study: a large majority of women and minorities have been socialized by the hegemonic male majority to accept their subordinate status. One would think that women and male minorities would operate from a more negotiated belief of concern and despair (or even anger) but this study shows that belief to be superseded by the reification of hegemonic power.

One question that must be addressed now is what should be done to remedy the problem? Included in the survey were questions that asked each respondent to offer suggestions to help solve the problems presented. In terms of discrimination in research, the solution is three fold. First, more women and minorities must be included on publication selection committees to ensure that feminist and minority issues are given equal consideration, and, in conjunction, a blind submission process with no reference to race or gender should be enacted. However, it is difficult to 'blind' the topic or content of research if it has to do with gender and minority discrimination. More women and minorities must be encouraged to publish and submit articles and be nominated for awards in the field.

In the academy, diversification issues must be addressed. Hiring practices must be reviewed for gender and race bias. By increasing the number of women and minorities hired into faculty positions, the other meager statistical showings could correct themselves. Diversifying the academy is key. Promotion and salary guidelines must also be addressed for gender and race bias.

Perhaps one of the most important steps to solving the problem is education. This researcher **firmly believes** that men must become aware of gender issues. In order for change to take place, the oppressor must not only study the oppressed and the extent of the harmful effects of oppression, but the oppressor must also study the oppressor. Until men fully understand the concept of masculinity and stop denying their control and privilege and understand how they systemically oppress women and minorities, any change would be superficial. The glass ceiling of the boys' club must be shattered, and let those in hegemonic control fall to everyone else's level. Better yet, Rush et al. (2002) suggest that women, men and minorities be brought up and beyond the glass ceiling.

It is interesting to note that the majority of respondents to the survey think the researcher is female. One reviewer of the pre-test of this survey even states, "The point of view of the researcher is so overwhelming that I started to question the validity of **her** study." Admittedly, the researcher's point of view is strong, but, as a white male [a negotiated masculine male], he also realizes that he is in a state of privilege. He is merely an observer on top of the glass ceiling peering through at the action below. However, if he were a female, stuck to the sticky floor of inequality, the point of view in this paper would, one hopes, be even stronger (but then again, that is a privileged white male's point of view).

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Appendix

Status of Women and Minorities in Journalism and Mass Communication Education

This survey utilizes previous research that examined the status of women and minorities in the field of journalism and mass communication research. The following questions are based on several conclusions drawn from the afore-mentioned research and ask you to give your personal interpretations to these conclusions as well as offer a brief response as to how the given situations could be improved, if you feel improvement is needed. You have been chosen as a survey participant based on your rank and position (either full professor and/or administrator) in the field.

Please be as open and honest as possible when offering your answers. Your speedy response is greatly appreciated. Thank you for your time.

1.) Gender: Male _____ Female _____ 2.) Age in years: 25-29 ___; 30-39 ___

40-49 ___; 50-59 ___

60-69 ___; 70+ ____

3.) Race: Asian ____ African-American ____ Caucasian (White; non-Hispanic) ____

Hispanic ____ Native American ____ Pacific Islander ____

Multiracial ____ (please specify) _____

Other ____ (please specify) _____

4.) Salary Range (in thousands $): 121+ ____; 111-120 ____; 91-110 ____; 81-90 ____; 71-80 ____

61-70 ____; 51-60 ____; 41-50 ____; 31-40 ____; 30 and below ____

5). Current Position (Full Prof and/or Admin): _____

Previous Titles Held: _____ Dates: To/From _____

_____ _____

_____ _____

Section I: AEJMC Membership

1. 38% (1172) of the 3059 members of the AEJMC in May 2001 were women. 7.7 % (236) were self-reported minorities.

Your interpretation:

Your suggestions for improvement, if needed:

Section II: Representation in Academic Units

1. 31% (1401) of the faculty members of schools and departments of journalism and mass communication (4511) presented in the 1999-2000 JMC Directory were female and 9% (371) were minorities.

Your interpretation:

Your suggestions for improvement, if needed:

2. *25% (112) of the 443 top administrators listed in the 1999-2000 directory were women. 4.5% (20) were minorities.
*30% (126) of the 423 secondary administrators listed in the 1999-2000 directory were women. 7% (17) were minorities.

Your interpretation:

Your suggestions for improvement, if needed:

3. *41% (318) of the 767 assistant professors listed in the 1999-2000 directory were women. 15% (114) were minorities.
*34% (322) of the 989 associate professors listed in the 1999-2000 directory were women. 9% (84) were minorities.
*18% (156) of the 860 full professors listed in the 1999-2000 directory were women. 4% (38) were minorities.

Your interpretation:

Your suggestions for improvement, if needed:

Section III: Authorship (In surveying two primary journals in the field, JMCQ and JMCE the following findings were recorded. Please offer your interpretation of each.)

1. *30% (616) of the 2022 article authors from 1989-2000 were women. 10% (202) were minorities.
*39% (288) of the 732 refereed paper presenters at the 2000 AEJMC convention were women. 13% (94) were minorities.

Your interpretation:

Your suggestions for improvement, if needed:

Section IV: Issues

1. 40% of the female members of the AEJMC who responded to a 2000 study made salary the only double-digit ranked category of sex discrimination, with 9% being the next closest percentage.

Your interpretation:

Your suggestions for improvement, if needed:

2. 50%, or one out of two, female members of the AEJMC who responded to a 2000 study perceive sex discrimination as a remaining deterrent to equality in the field.

Your interpretation:

Your suggestions for improvement, if needed:

Section V: Awards

1. 6% (one) of the 17 Paul J. Deutschmann Awards for Excellence in Research given between 1969 and 2000 went to a woman. No minorities have received this award.

Your interpretation:

Your suggestions for improvement, if needed:

Status of Women

FROM THE CRADLE TO THE GRAVE: THE UNFULFILLED BILL OF RIGHTS REFLECTED IN THE HIDDEN DIALOGUE OF "EVERYWOMAN"

by
"Everywoman"
the Award-winning author of

The Ethics of Hiring in the New Workplace
Men and Women Managers Face Changing Stereotypes,
Discover Correlative Patterns for Success

Beverly G. Merrick
Associate Professor
New Mexico State University
Department 3J, Jordan Street
Las Cruces, N.M. 88003-8001

Business Phone: 505-646-1567
Business FAX: 505-646-1255
Home Phone: 505-523-8614
bmerrick@nmsu.edu

ABSTRACT

This is a White Paper, an award-winning essay that points to the need to present viewpoints in the mass media suppressed due to gender. The essay is written in the form of Pilgrim's Progress, by John Bunyon. The research won second place in the nation, faculty, of the Bill of Rights "Significant Silences" Competition, through the AEJMC. The arguments herein should help media professionals overcome the denial of gender dominance. Their commitment to allow for opposing viewpoints also place those in the journalism profession in a unique position to act as catalysts for change. This is possible in hat media professionals already understand the basis of the concept, even if they do not practice it ethically.

FROM THE CRADLE TO THE GRAVE:

THE UNFULFILLED BILL OF RIGHTS

REFLECTED IN THE HIDDEN DIALOGUE OF "EVERYWOMAN"

AUTHOR'S APOLOGY

Why I am wanting to solve every echo, because . . .

my grandfather, the fisherman
    did not think to make me a fisherwoman
my grandmother, the hotel cook
    did not think to call herself a chef
my father, the war-time soldier
    is a gentleman
my mother, the piece-time welder
    is not a gentle woman
my brother, the provider for his home
    was not taught to give of himself
my sister, the worker in the house
    was taught to give too much of herself
my son, who sees himself a future poet
    painfully flexes his muscles
my daughter, who sees herself a future president
    slopes her shoulders, hides her breasts
my husband, no longer my husband felt
    he had to find a lesser version of me to survive
the male minister, called God's true disciple
    is sometimes only a word merchant
the female speech teacher, called a word merchant
    sometimes speaks as God's true disciple
the players, who tackle in the mud
    see only the game, cannot hear the spectators
the spectators, who cannot play in the game
    see only the mud, can only speculate
and the words, "We the People," mean we the men
and the echoes, "Me Too," mean we the women
and because so many are deaf to those echoes
and because so many hear, but deny there are echoes
and because so many just say
                SHUT UP!

FROM THE CRADLE TO THE GRAVE:

THE UNFULFILLED BILL OF RIGHTS

REFLECTED IN THE HIDDEN DIALOGUE OF "EVERYWOMAN"

THE ALLEGORY

Everywoman's Progress, A Morality Play 1
Discovering the Hidden Dialogue 7
Digressing on the Visible Agenda 11
Claiming Credit Through Control 13
Thriving on Privilege 16
Possessing Personhood 20
Everywoman Speaks Out to Overcome Denial 24

BEYOND THE ALLEGORY

Applying Gender-Reversal to Overcome Denial 30
Applying Feminist Theories to Overcome Denial 35
Applying Historical Analysis to Overcome Denial 37
Being Accountable to Overcome Denial 42
Being Introspective to Overcome Denial 45
Women Cannot Fight Denial By Themselves 48
Hypothetical Time-Delay Chart 49
The Necessity for Taking Direct Action. 53

FROM THE CRADLE TO THE GRAVE:

THE UNFULFILLED BILL OF RIGHTS

REFLECTED IN THE HIDDEN DIALOGUE OF "EVERYWOMAN"

As I walked through the wilderness of this world,
I lighted on a certain place what was a den,
and laid me down in that place to sleep;
and as I slept, I dreamed a dream.

-- John Bunyan
Opening words
Spoken by the Pilgrim
The Pilgrim's Progress

THE ALLEGORY

Everywoman's Progress, A Morality Play

Everywoman had just finished her doctorate in mass communications and was going through the "Positions Available" in AEJMC News, published by the Association for Education in Journalism. It is the publication that lists jobs open to mass media professors nationwide. Six universities seemed to fit her qualifications. Everywoman was euphoric: this was the time she had waited for, had worked for. The American dream could come true; she had doubted it would. After all, whoever wrote about Harriet G. Alger? She drafted the curriculum vita; contacted her references; and wrote a letter of inquiry to each university. But most importantly, Everywoman adjusted her thinking toward possibilities once again.

Then she got back to the computer and continued with her latest research topic, a major woman journalist who had written for the *New York Herald Tribune* during the 1920s and early 1930s. Ishbel Ross had never had been the subject of serious research: even though she had written for 60 years; even though she was a colleague to such big-name journalists as Walter Lippmann, Alva Johnston, and Stanley Walker; even though she was considered one of the major reporters out of 300 journalists covering the famous Hall-Mills trial of the 1920s; even though she was the reporter who was sent out by noted editor L.L. Engelking on a frosty New Jersey morning in March 1932 to cover the disappearance of "Little Lindy," Charles Lindbergh Jr. There are too many "even though's" that apply in the case of Ishbel Ross. For instance, after Ross left the *Herald Tribune*, she was not recognized for her contributions except in the footnotes, even

though she went on to write five novels, three histories and 20 biographies -- besides serving as a ghostwriter for several works.

Ross is the historical example of the Harriet G. Alger of journalism. Many of Ross' former colleagues had answered to Everywoman's earlier research inquiry to them -- if there is one woman who deserved to have her life as a journalist told, it would be Ishbel Ross.

The newspaperwoman did merit some reference in Richard Kluger's *The Paper*, which is a well-documented work on the *Herald Tribune*. Kluger devoted several pages to her. However, the fact that Ross has never been the subject of more than an article-length piece is defies logic, considering her excellence as the top newspaperwoman; some say -- including Kluger -- the top newspaper reporter in New York during the 1920s.

It is an oversight like Ross that makes women who are insiders in the profession question the flawed history of American journalism. Women who are yet only college students hunt through the journalism history book for more than isolated examples of those aberrant women like Nellie Bly and Ida Minerva Tarbell, who somehow managed to be cited. The avid student finds a few more in the footnotes.

How does one explain to these fledgling journalists that women have contributed but few write about them? It is just not a logical explanation to fall back on justifications such as the following: "It was once commonly believed that women serve and men achieve; therefore, women are 'undiscussed' in terms of achievement." These college students must look to such authors as Marion Marzolf, who made the same points about omission of women in her history of women journalists, *Up From the Footnote*.[1] A score of years later, Maurine Beasley and Sheila J. Gibbons published a similar historical work about women journalists, called *Taking Their Place*.[2] Kate Mills' contemporary *A Place in the News* is also a valuable source, although not as broad in scope.[3] These authors were inspired to do so by Ross' work, *Ladies of the Press*,[4] written in 1936.

Ross, one of the major women of the press who was never written about, until Marzolf's interview, shortly before the journalist's death in 1975, collected the biographies of more than 250

major women journalists of her time. Many of these newspaperwomen's achievements would have been lost if Ross had not made that significant effort to record their histories. Fortunately Ross had the backing of Cass Canfield at Harper & Row because his admiration of her outstanding record as a journalist and novelist. Her *Ladies of the Press* was a turning point for her. From 1936 on, she wrote only about women and their achievements, which was considered a highly unprofitable venture.

Ross apparently was aware of the ignominy of writing about women. In her sixtieth year of writing, she added a postscript to a July 15, 1975, letter to Marion Marzolf, who was then working on *Up From the Footnote*: "P.S. My book on Mrs. Wilson *[Power With Grace*[5]1 came out very quietly the other day, and will probably never be heard of again. I am resigned to this and will probably survive it! I.R."[6]

Unfortunately, she did not survive for long.

Who wants to read about women anyway?

Well, Everywoman does, for one.

If women are not written about, then they disappear from history. It is as if those women have never existed. The next generation of women hunts through the footnotes once more, seeking evidence of their contributions. Then, in the case of women journalists, there are few heroes for women in the profession to emulate - except male journalists, of course. Likewise, there are few female heroes in the profession for males to emulate. Everywoman wonders if the males, who represent "Everyman," notice the absence of women journalists in the way Everywomen does.

Considering the job picture for Everywoman, her first callback on journalism positions was from her doctoral advisor, who told her one of the six universities, a reputed institution in the Southwest, had asked for a reference. Now, as friend and mentor, she was on the phone to give some advice.

"When they call you for your on-campus interview, do not mention the F-word."

"What's that?"

"Do not mention the "F-word. You know – feminist. They have expressed some concern about seeing the women's studies certificate on your vita."

"Okay. I will be very careful to act like the prim and proper lady."

"You can concentrate on being exactly what they want for a while can't you?"

"And, forget the F-Word, no?"

They chuckled together over the inside joke, the hidden dialogue women share with other women. However, Everywoman took her mentor's instructions seriously. Once, in a workshop at M.I.T., after seething in indignation over a battery of sexist interpretation to history, she had blurted out some of that hidden dialogue. That's the unspoken "No, No!" for every woman who is trying to elevate the status of women across the professions as Ross had done.

As it happened, concerning Everywoman's on-campus interview at the Southwestern university, the one and only woman on the faculty advised her not to accept the position if offered, cataloguing a score of unspoken restrictions placed upon her in the journalism department: difficulties in finding a mentor, lack of positive feedback for her ideas, often having to test her opinions in a hostile atmosphere. To Everywoman, the woman faculty member had finally asked the rhetoric question that was pressing her: "Why do you want to come in this cow-town anyway? These cowboys will have your ideas roped and wrestled to the ground before the trail herd moves out."

Well, Everywoman wanted to come for all the standard reasons: to teach, to research, to serve – to find a good place for her family to live and prosper. Most of all, a university is a place to develop ideas in an atmosphere that encourages academic freedom. Isn't this the goal of education – to help students and ourselves seek the truth in its many forms? Or, was she being rhetorical?

Everywoman was not offered the job. She does not know if it were her publishing history, which mainly dealt with women journalists -- Ida Minerva Tarbell, Nellie Bly and Ishbel Ross. She does not know if it were a male faculty member from her former institution, who just might have informed the faculty that she was a woman with dangerous ideas of equality – which translates to

many as wanting to be more than equal.

One visible radical activity in which Everywoman had participated at her major Mid-Western university was a "Take Back the Night" March. Women – and several men – marched across campus against rape and violence against women. That particular march had brought several catcalls from the dorms to the marchers: "I wouldn't rape you, don't worry!"

Everywoman had flinched when she heard the remark – in the same way she flinched when confronted with misogyny in the profession, a hatred of women caused by an irrational fear.

Perhaps there was another reason she did not get the job. On the day of the interview, there had been Everywoman's mute aversion toward the search chair's scathing attack on his wife over some hidden agenda at the faculty dinner. Perhaps that had something to do with it. Hidden agendas are nearly impossible to deal with. It is easier to understand reason when it takes the form of catcalls, even if it does make one flinch.

Perhaps, simply, Everywoman just did not meet the needs of the journalism program. Visible agendas allow one to discover where she is located in the schema of things. As communicators, the search committee should have known the value of truth more than anything else. If people can be straight-forward with a woman candidate because they have reasoned decisions, she is more able to adjust her attitude toward hope. Then, Everywoman is more able to look at her strengths and her shortcomings objectively.

With these conditions presented, I launch myself into a paper on behalf of Everywoman, an allegory based on the earlier allegory of Everyman, a moralistic play written about the common man in the 15th Century, upon which such works as John Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress* are based. I transplant the structure of the allegory to Everywoman with the sole goal to argue for the need to make the lives, the goals and the contributions of every woman in the profession more visible – to strive for truth, to uncover hidden agendas. I plan to draw upon anecdotal information of Everywoman because the discovery for truth is a personal process, more than a bill of rights catalogued on a list penned two centuries ago. A personal dialogue is a discourse Everywoman can

rely on when analyzing a hidden dialogue that applies to a larger universe of denial affecting women across the professions. I address conditions that pertain more specifically to the woman journalist. I also hope to make generalizations about all women workers. Until every woman journalist is recognized as an entity fully capable of forming thought, fully capable of understanding the whole picture, her "Bill of Rights" in the profession will remain unfulfilled.

Discovering the Hidden Dialogue

The M.I.T. incident involving Everywoman happened at a workshop on the American psyche, which was led by a distinguished political science professor. His workshop colleague was feminist Kathleen Dalton, who for the most part sat quietly throughout the sessions. For four weekdays workshop participants rehashed the influences of Emerson, Thoreau, and all the other great New England thinkers of earlier centuries; never mind the philosophy of anyone south of the Hudson River, let alone those from the great black void west of the Mississippi. The workshop included a tour to Emerson's home and to the bridge where the Sons of Liberty shot "the volley heard 'round the world.'"

In the exclusive academic establishment of Cambridge, it was apparent our distinguished professor believed he, his colleagues and their predecessors had sole claim to the generation of and the development of the American academic psyche. We were pioneers because they had dared to be Pilgrims. We were God-fearing today because they celebrated the first Thanksgiving. We had legalistic system based on civil rights because their forefathers had drafted a Declaration of Independence, a Constitution, a Bill of Rights.

Everywoman wrote a note to herself as he was talking, "Perhaps he is right." Certainly, media have the tendency interview the gurus of Cambridge's academic mecca any time anything of

any importance occurs on the national socio-political scene. She made a further note: "Perhaps, woman's thought is also defined by geographical boundaries. Are the gurus for women's thought also housed at Cambridge?"

It was now Friday afternoon, nearing the end of the week-long workshop. Two hours were to be allowed to cover the contributions of women thinkers. Dalton still sat mute during what proved to be a long, haranguing introduction by her colleague about the vagaries of women's contributions to thought. Her colleague's subjective comments alternated between smugness and patronizing reflection.

Dalton exchanged a glance with Everywoman, who in this case was the only woman student in the workshop, conveying a little flicker of shared confidences. Dalton then proceeded to show "Killing Me Softly," a videotape produced at Harvard, which depicts the rape, mutilation and subjection of women in ads appearing in national magazines and media campaigns (a videotape that has not made the rounds in very many J-departments).[7] But the tape was a good selection, considering Dalton was stuck with the choice of one and only one volley in a limited time-slot of a week-long workshop to show "the whole of a woman's perspective."

Dalton's purpose, Everywoman believed, was to stimulate feedback. Dalton did indeed get some immediate responses from the males, mostly defensive. Her prominent colleague responded with an anecdote about Harvard author Carol Gilligan, who wrote *In a Different Voice*.[8] Gilligan's work is considered in feminist intellectual circles to be a significant work about psychological theory and women's development. Feminists rank it up there with Simon's deBeavoir's *The Second Sex*,[9] Alice Rossi's *The Feminist Papers*,[10] and Germaine Greer's *The Female Eunuch*.[11] Apparently, Gilligan is Cambridge's guru of women's thought.

Dalton's colleague wondered out loud if the workshop participants were aware that after Gilligan wrote the book, she "had committed that unpardonable sin of divorcing her husband," and – worse than that – "of deserting her children." Her husband apparently had "put her through school" – then she "discarded him." He lifted his eyebrows as he enunciated each new revelation.

It is so often the other way around; therefore, Everywoman could not help but get defensive herself that he should take the choices made by one woman to categorize the whole educated class of one gender. Everywoman could not recall a single time that any teacher or professor had talked about the personal life and decisions of a male scholar in such deprecating terms. Of course, there had often general discussion about biographical backgrounds. Everywoman had learned, for instance, that Albert Einstein was as backward in personal relationships as he was brilliant in forming theory. She had never heard his divorce phrased as "discarding his wife" and "deserting his children." Rather he had been discussed in the terms of not being able to cope with marriage, so he got a divorce.

So, in the horror story mode, Everywoman made a mistake. With veiled sarcasm, she revealed some of the hidden dialogue of women as well. She pointed out that the picture was much grimmer and of a much greater scale than the male workshop professor could have imagined. She told of her participation in a national women's studies institute in Ann Arbor in which one feminist had "a modest proposal" rivaling that of Jonathan Swift's. The feminist had tossed out the idea of killing all male babies at birth. The feminist had said that would in some small way (1) make up for the killing and maiming of female babies in many cultures over the centuries and, at the same time, (2) do away with the oppressors of women before they could form harmful ideas of sociopathic misogyny.

Everywoman's justified the overt attack to herself, saying that the purpose was to show the uninitiated (to any other but their own point of view) the extent of the anger of oppression: some women hate men just as strongly as some men hate women. These women propose nihilistic solutions toward practices such as those that allow negative images of women to go unchecked in the national advertising campaigns. Furthermore, she wanted the workshop leader to know that she believed that Gilligan uses a pretty thoughtful approach in designing a theory to explain oppression. Gilligan is a mild-mannered feminist, who ameliorates some of the more radical solutions to overcoming the long-term discrimination toward women and the overwhelming subjection that has

bridged all of history.

Even many of those who claim a certain receptiveness to new ideas are enough turned off by the word "feminism" that they never have analyzed just who a feminist is and what s/he thinks, let alone why s/he embraces such a theory. Rush Lymbaugh is a good example of someone who excoriates women who speak out as "feminazis." He and others do not know there is a whole underground made up of women (and men) who range from radical feminists to third-world feminists, from traditional feminists to cultural feminists, from those who march for the ERA to those who support the First Amendment as a catalyst for change. Every feminist does not speak for every woman.

Dalton's male colleague said to Everywoman's recollection of the feminist's modest proposal: "That doesn't seem like the kind of information women should share with men. Men just might use it for their own purposes."

Touché!

However, with a walk across the bridge taken by the Sons of Liberty so fresh in mind, Everywoman wondered out loud if Thomas Jefferson was advised by Ben Franklin not to mention the I-word in his declaration: "Listen Tom, old boy, we don't want King George to get the wrong idea, do we? If you come on too strongly, the Indians from the Sons of Liberty tribe might dump more tea into the harbor. That hell-raiser Patrick Henry might say something else to incur Georgie's wrath. So, let's save those little extras about human rights that we are working on for later. We can edit in our demands – such as freedom of speech and the press – as amendments."

At the same time, picture King George reasoning, "I know the colonists love me; and besides, those who do not love me are not there. Therefore, there cannot have been a Revolutionary War – because I am loved."

Both scenarios are ludicrous; the first, because it shows a lack of courage to present ideas; the second, because it shows a lack of perception to accept them. Everywoman is asked to not be too pushy and complain too much, to let others do her thinking for her; while Everyman fails to

acknowledge the oppression; therefore, it cannot possibly exist.

Digressing on the Visible Agenda

The visible agenda in the media reflecting the status quo is that Everywoman lives in a world in which some cultures still kill girl babies and still other cultures provide less than subsistence for aged mothers. Many societies systematically discriminate against the woman worker. But the problem is more complex than that. American media reflect a society that afghanistans the problem of female infanticide to Afghanistant and aged mothers to hospital beds in Peoria. Working women are perceived as making inroads in the professions but are targeted for lower salaries through a complex process of exceptions, driven by denial of every woman's contribution to the workplace.

The journalism profession is no exception. As every woman discovers early, one cannot believe the newspaper when it says everything bad is happening in Afghanistan – the Gulf, the big cities, always elsewhere. That was brought home to Everywoman early, literally. In the time of Dick and Jane, Everywoman was one in four children who had been sexually abused. In the time of Father Knows Best, her mother had to work 18 hours a day to make the same wage as a man to keep her two brothers and her clothed and fed. In the time of Aunt Bea, Everywoman's grandmother died alone in a nursing home four states away.

Everywoman has similar anecdotal information to impart to every other women. There is Pauline, who worked for AT&T for a score of years, pulling herself up through the ranks. She trained a male to do her job; he then became her supervisor – at twice the salary, of course. There is Chris, whose husband divorced her after she decided to go back to college. Chris' husband married a more motherly type, who would cater to his needs. There is Eleanor, who earns $10,000

a year as a temporary, even with her masters in communication, because she can find no company that wants the burden of worrying about salary increments, let alone benefits and retirement. There is June, who has bought into that old model of elusive promises: "If you volunteer, you'll become more visible. Someone will see you are dedicated, so they'll take you on in a paid position." Over several years, June has earned a handful of awards, such as one from the city for community service. She is still hunting for he first full-time job at a university.

With gender discrimination operating under the veneer of justice and equality for all, it is difficult to make someone understand that a job is integral to well-being, even if one is a woman. So goes the ongoing late-breaking story that makes up the life of women journalists; they join the ranks of other women – from the cradle to the grave. They are proof positive that the dangerous W-word is living and unwell, even though the dangerous F-women are speaking out.

The female worker is adversely affected by the unspoken thought which dictates that the male worker obviously falls into a protected class, whose due could be any number of special privileges: higher salary, career-oriented positions, advanced placement. The male must be protected even though he has been awarded society's medal of honor for being the strongest of the species through Darwin's theory, the most psychologically stable through Freud's psychoanalysis and the most able to think analytically through Plato-Aristotelian logic.

There is some kind of unwritten law which dictates that the male journalist, like his working colleagues across the professions, must have "dubs" on the best jobs. Although we have made some inroads, a male must typically be the editor, although a woman may be a reporter. In the same way men must have the good jobs to take care of their families while women – either married, divorced or single – are living in some pretend world where the bacon magically appears on the table. It is so much easier to buy into this fantasy than face the fact that someone is being asked to work for less and to settle for less in a time when there are more and more household headed by women – and "Shut Up!" anyway.

Claiming Credit Through Control

By controlling institutions such as the media, Everyman continues to claim credit to nearly everything that happens of any importance in the world. The male power structure continues to do this on an ongoing basis. For instance, the male hegemony of management recently laid claim to a theory that has been exercised traditionally by gatherings of women. In recent years, when the new consensus-building theories of management became popular, male business analysts had to go clear to Japan to discover a male source for the idea. They applauded male managers in Japanese industry for their innovativeness in developing the theory. One would have had to suspend belief to think U.S. business had developed the positive management practices themselves after they had years embraced unquestioningly for so long the male power-model of "Theory X" management. How excellent to have a model that is advocated for the males in the working place, a model uncontaminated by female input.

The Japanese managers advocate what is called quality circles, in which management, white collar workers and blue collar workers - those from all facets of industry - are brought together to share a dialogue. The Japanese management style that a healthy mind and body are imperative if one is to work to his or her maximum potential. The companies pay for exercise programs for the entire family, based on the belief that the health of the entire family is important to the health of the individual worker.

Meanwhile, during the early 1970s, the idea (per se) of shared management became very popular in the Western world, but here the theory seemed to generate from women as a class and to fall under such general definitions of consciousness-raising and environmental commitment. The idea is called consciousness-raising in women's groups because women are perceived to use emotional models. The idea is called shared management in business because Japanese men are perceived to use analytical models. It would seem here that the old maxim is true: who says

something is often more important than what is said. When a feminist – more so, when a woman – vocalizes on a managerial idea, it is considered radical. When a Japanese businessman vocalizes on a managerial idea, it is considered innovative.

The theory expounded by the Japanese has always and ever been an idea of shared management originating with women across the world in housework, in child-rearing and in the professions. Women began writing about shared management, and advocating the idea strongly, with the rise of the Industrial Revolution. Shared management had been discussed extensively and expanded through research most lately by American feminists of the 1960s through the 21st century, who adapted humanistic models from the world of women's work, inside and outside of the home. There are nearly two thousand books and other treatises on all facets of women's ideas toward sharing power and on setting up cooperative ventures in many kinds of arenas.

Our society is rife with examples of this humanistic design drawn from the women's world of work. Often, these designs proposed by women have been fought against vigorously by the male hierarchy only because they are proposed by women. Some men strongly hold the idea that anything good for women must be bad for men. Therefore, they fight against any reform that has "a women's label on it."

For instance, feminists in women's organizations across the country advocated passage of the Family and Medical Leave Act, which would allow either parent to come back to a position after extended leave for the birth or care of a child. The irony was that the 1990 bill was targeted for defeat for all the wrong reasons by larger managerial concerns. Opposition argued that the act was primarily a bill by women, for women. If the opposition could not defeat it, they planned to effect extensive revision, through lawmakers who feared the adverse impact such humanistic legislation would have against business and industry.

Furthermore, the nay-sayers convinced many of their counterparts that once these women got their foot in the door of big business, they would try to extend the measures of extended family leave to the smaller businesses, those of fewer than 50 workers. After that, larger companies –

then smaller companies – could be forced to have day-care facilities. And, how would business and industry be able to make a profit? Prices would go up. Everyone would have to pay when it was an individual woman's job to pay for childcare, even if there were a lot of individual women and men collectively needing it. Besides, it was argued, we would then undoubtedly become a police state, in which government and industry programs our children if we take the care away from mothers. And, on and on and on.

The only way to stop such a scenario, was to try to close the door before those women could inch it open. The nay-sayers never carried their arguments to the logical conclusions. That is, someone had to open the door to allow the woman to leave for work. Then, who cares for the children? Why, they let themselves in with a latchkey. So women lose the argument, in any case, in this kind of circular reasoning.

The argument of the nay-sayers sounds something like if-we-lose-our-machineguns-we-will-lose-our-rifles-type-of-logic, which is really not about machine-guns or rifles at all but about 25,000 people in 1990 killed by handguns. In Congress, there seemed to be no problem with mowing down the opposition through this all-or-nothing approach. It is the same argument traditionally used by the uninitiated to fight against the unknown, employing the same kind of approach that defines all feminists as one big, fire-breathing dragon out there ready to burn terror into the heart of every dragon-slayer. Fortunately, logic finally won out on that one. The dragon-slayers have moved the battle to other fields. This is the final irony: men benefitted as well from the Family and Medical Leave Act. Many males even liked the thought that they could be home with a sick child without losing their job.

The dominant class of society tells us what to extol and what to fear. The dominant class becomes both rule-maker and the lawgiver. The dominant class speaks the dialogue of privilege because its members get to set the agenda, recommend changes, interpret results. The rest of us must somehow adapt to the system that benefits the privileged, or be destroyed by it. The deviant class can benefit when it is also for the good of the dominant class. But most of the time, privilege

cannot be mutually shared because goals are different – are perceived to be different (as in child care) – even if we all must live by the laws written and unwritten. After all, there was never a benign Harriet G. Alger. Everywoman exists only in the deviant and dark, scheming Black Widow, who devours her prey. Ha! It is difficult not to be sarcastic when one views women as deadly predators.

Thriving on Privilege

The same salary rules have held true for college journalism professors. As a general rule, the tradition at most colleges and universities dictates the majority of professors must be men. High school journalism advisors, as a general rule, must be women. Women, if hired at the university level, are often pulled into community colleges or teaching institutions. There, they teach four to five classes per term. After all, that's what they do best – teach. Then, the women professionals find there is literally little or no time to do research so that they can improve their lot: share dialogue with other professionals and extend their ideas into the marketplace of research. Women must ever be in a nurturing role in which they (1) prepare young men to be professionals and (2) prepare young women to train young men to be professionals. It is the never-ending story.

These perceptions are changing, albeit slowly – that is true, but many women in J-departments that have commitments to research feel they are brought on board only under fear of charges of discrimination. Once ensconced in the departments, they feel they are not taken seriously in areas of research and collegiality, as discussions at the AEJMC conventions have demonstrated in recent years. At the conventions, it is the topic of many heated conversations, especially among women professionals in the Commission on Status of Women. Again, women are chagrined that the research of female colleagues is trivialized. Again, male professionals only get a glimpse of that underground dialogue of women.

Many women professionals find themselves in the position of being given the responsibility of a major research project, but must struggle along without financial support and the lack of mentoring. After all, the really important training culled from experience and a soundly-based philosophy that leads to serious research must come from the male journalists. They are the more competent – surely. The male research is enfranchised; therefore, he sees no problem. What we are really talking about is men not having to waste energy on persuading everyone else to the value of their research just because of their gender.

V.B. Price, Albuquerque columnist, cited the conclusions of Peggy McIntosh, who wrote in a 1988 essay that speaks of the "invisible package of unearned assets," a cache of privilege that man are taught not to recognize. Price said that the classic Catch-22 argument arises: if you are a woman, you are damned if you do point out that men have the advantage ("Don't be a crybaby! Stop using that as an excuse!"); if you are a woman, you are damned if you do not point it out in that biases and negative stereotypes undercut your ability to produce.[12]

Let's look at several gender-specific incidents occurring at a convention which are troubling. Another woman (which I will again call Everywoman because the situation is so generalizable), on tenure-track status at a prestigious Northeast institution, was paranoid about whom she could be seen with during convention. Decisions about tenure were soon approaching. Everywoman was fearful that the research she had carried out might be considered as written from a women's viewpoint; and therefore, be considered "lesser" by the male hierarchy at her university. She advised a female friend to avoid a certain outspoken woman that she had talked with on the convention floor because Everywoman feared the males in the audience might somehow connect her to the outspoken woman through a passing acquaintanceship. The word would get back. She believed she would definitely not get tenure if she was identified with women advocating women's rights.

The fear of "women identification" or "gender advocacy" is real for every woman, for behind nearly every hiring and promotion decision is a majority male vote or a unanimous male

vote. Anecdotal information about an all-male journalism department at a Western university demonstrates the way in which overt discrimination is still practiced against women professionals.

Under threat of a suit filed through a regional office of the Equal Opportunity Commission, a journalism department finally hired a woman to a permanent full-time position. She was not awarded tenure-track status, but at least she had made gains from permanent part-time status. The J-department hired the male candidate they intended to hire originally (who by the way, is very competent); but the department asked for special permission to also hire a woman (who by the way, is very competent), according to the assistant dean.

The departmental leadership has continued to justify their hiring practices by pointing to the one woman they had hired previously, decades ago. That woman was to represent their commitment to every woman. Since that time, many a male journalist has come and gone, often with a nice pension to show for it.

Everywoman knew the facts behind the hiring decision. She was the woman who filed the suit, mainly on behalf of her daughter – and her daughter's possibilities for a future in journalism. Everywoman did this after she was told never to apply for any opening with the department again because "she was not eligible" for any position there – even though she held a doctorate in philosophy in mass communications, even though several of the males working for the department only had a bachelor's degree. The doctoral requirements had been traditionally waived for men hired by the department. Through discussions at professorial conventions, she learned that other women who had applied for a position at the same j-school had been told they were not eligible.

Everywoman possesses a certain satisfaction that after she filed the complaint, the chairman felt the department had better hire a woman as well. They expanded the position to two slots, hiring the man they originally intended for the position; but they hired the woman also. Of course, Everywoman knew that in any case (and especially after filing a suit!), she would never get a job with the department. Everywoman might have even hurt herself in the profession. But, as a moral agent, she had to take action. It was only later that she discovered other women with doctorates in

the same field were receiving the same response as she had when they applied: not qualified.

Everywoman's daughter enrolled in the J-department. However, her daughter questioned whether she even should even enter the profession. She decided to go with a history major instead. Although more and more young women are pursuing journalism degrees, and gaining majority status as students in many universities, they still see men primarily taking charge in the journalism profession. And, if men are mainly editors and publishers, broadcast spokespersons and advertising managers, they are working toward making themselves eligible for filling positions in college-level journalism programs that waive doctoral requirements. And, if women are mainly reporters and news writers, graphic designers and advertising salespersons, they are working toward one-year appointments in journalism departments.

The traditional male track leads to tenure, salary increments over one's working life, and a respectable pension for service rendered; the traditional female track leads to year-to-year appointments that may be full-time and renewable, less remuneration for service, and social security retirement. In this way, the system that elevates the male in journalism to greater rewards is self-perpetuating.

Considering the overall situation at the university, Everywoman did not feel heroic. She felt she had no choice but to pursue the matter, considering that in the past she had abdicated in a similar case. She and women co-workers on a newspaper had encountered an extreme case of discrimination. She had done nothing about it. She just wanted to get on with her career. Something had changed within her because she had not stood up for herself and the other women with whom she worked when she had the power to do so. It was not until years later, when Everywoman read the work of a contemporary philosopher, A.I. Melden,[13] that she began to understand the full extent of the damage she had done to herself by allowing a moral wrong to be practiced against her and others without a protest.

Possessing Personhood

Melden said in *Rights and Persons*, a philosophical work dedicated to his wife and daughters, that all persons possess the basic right of personhood, which implicitly carries an obligation to exercise moral authority: "[I]f there is a right that one has qua person it is logically impossible for anyone, oneself, or anyone else, to do anything that would deprive one of this moral possession without depriving one of one's status as person."[14] He said that "a wrongful denial of a moral right does moral damage – period [emphasis added],"[15] whether it is the person who abnegates against him- or herself or if another person is allowed to practice the moral wrong without protest. Melden writes:

> One can submit to the maltreatment one receives at the hands of others, as animals do; but this is not to assert ourselves as persons. Such assertion of oneself as a person with rights may be irritating to others, and it may even be dangerous. But unless it takes some appropriate form by which it is made clear to those who have infringed [upon] our rights that an infringement has indeed occurred, that remedy is called for, and if wrongfully done, that guilt must be purged, one not only submits to the blows one receives from others but fails to maintain one's own integrity as a moral agent.[16]

With the moral authority of a person, as a being with rights, there is "the implied requirement of integrity imposed upon us, that we conduct ourselves with dignity and in ways appropriate to our status as beings with rights on terms of equality, qua moral agents, with others."[17] It stands thus that we are required to assert ourselves as persons by holding the transgressors accountable for those acts against us. We are required to assert ourselves for the greater good even if we hurt ourselves in the short run, even if thelist of transgressors becomes long.

This is how the incident occurred. First, to put all of this in context, Everywoman feels she must explain her training in journalism. Once naive, she used to believe that she would not have to explain her professional status. Now she knows that when a witness takes the stand so that the truth can be discovered, credentials are stated for the record. Ten years ago Everywoman received the award for "Outstanding Senior in the News/Editorial Sequence" at an Appalachian university. She received the award from Marvin Stone, then-editor of *U.S. News & World Report*, an earlier outstanding journalism graduate. For special recognition, Everywoman held a major Appalachian writing prize (the Jesse Stuart Award), a Gannett journalism internship, and a Reader's Digest Travel Grant to Plains, Georgia, during the Carter presidency.

After Everywoman graduated, she earned a masters in journalism. She then went to work with high hopes as a reporter and photographer on the city desk of a Kentucky daily newspaper on the Ottaway chain. It was a life-long dream fulfilled. Everywoman's grandmother had been an unpaid wheelchair stringer for *The Kansas City Star* and five small-town newspapers round and about Troy, Kansas, where she had been confined to her home due to crippling arthritis. Everywoman's uncle had been business manager of *The Coloradan* for years. Her aunt sold yearbooks to high schools. Her family and Kansan William Allen White were her role models.

Everywoman's hopes were dashed. She had to leave her first newspaper position, with great regret, because she could not afford to stay any longer. She was paid less than two-thirds the salary of the male reporter who was hired at the same time - who, by the way, had a B.A. and only a mediocre academic record. Both he and Everywoman had three children at home but somehow he was perceived to be in more need of a higher salary. In title, Everywoman had been the most fortunate of her female colleagues on the newspaper: she was the only woman reporter at newspaper actually classified as a reporter. The previous female reporters had been classified as clerks.

Through what Everywoman did best, investigative reporting, she had learned that all the women at the newspaper received much lower salaries for equal or comparable work. The

remainder of the women the newsroom continued to be classified as clerks: they struggled along with half again (!) of what Everywoman made - at $6,000 a year. The highest-paid woman manager, who had worked at the newspaper for more than a quarter of a century, made a salary comparable to that of a newly hired male news editor - $25,000.

Also, Everywoman learned through the grapevine of women's dialogue that discrimination on the newspaper took other forms. For instance, when a male staff member and a female staff member at the newspaper married, the female employee was immediately fired, while the male spouse was kept on. One particular sports editor was into his third on-the-job marriage; this three wives had been sent home, literally, each in turn.

Several of her male colleagues mentioned the problems of keeping women on the newspaper, apparently without an inkling of the continuing discrimination or that women were talking about it to each other. The editor-in-chief told Everywoman he could not figure out why their best feature writer ever, a woman, had resigned to join a newspaper only a hundred miles away.

The inevitable conclusion was that her position at the paper was and ever would be a dead-end job.

Everywoman procrastinated, putting off the inevitable decision because she so enjoyed working on the city desk. However, Thackeray had already proven the difficulty of living on next to "nothing a year," especially if you have children. She steeled herself, and finally went to the editor to negotiate for a higher salary, as least within the ballpark of the male colleague hired at the same time. Everywoman was certain of the rightness and reasonable of her request. She stressed to the editor-in-chief that she loved working for the newspaper. He talked about the wonderful job Everywoman was doing. She could budge him on words, but she could not budge him on salary. Management too was unresponsive to her pleadings.

Everywoman had fallen into that trap that women often do: somehow, she thought she would be perceived differentially from her female colleagues, and therefore treated differently. In

deep regret, Everywoman left the job she always wanted.

She knew at the time that she had the right to take the newspaper to task through Title VII of the Civil Rights Act. She put roadblocks in her own way, the standard ones used by persons who fear that pursuing such a complaint will hurt their career. According to Melden's philosophy of the obligations of personhood, Everywoman had (by consent) injured her moral character, and was subject to all the ensuing repercussions: a sense of shame that she had not stood up for her rights after suffering injury by the newspaper's agents; a sense of guilt continued to pervade Everywoman's psyche.

A point of irony should be stated here: she who laughs last laughs best, no? A story and a photo Everywoman produced three days into working for the newspaper, about Colonel William C. Lambert, a World War I flying ace, was awarded a Mid-West writing award from the Aviators/Space Writers Association. It was the highest award ever given a reporter working for that newspaper. The Ottaway chain also showcased her humorous business analysis of Reagan's jelly bellys, in its national publication.

The true irony, however, is that her male counterpart could afford to keep the job, while Everywoman had to give up what she wanted to do more than anything - if she had the luxury. In the long-term, Everywoman certainly did not have the last laugh; her male colleague did.

As it turns out the real tests of character were still to come. And, they were far beyond either of the situations she has already described. She had yet to learn that to pursue one's dreams actually is an odyssey, much like the travails faced by any woman who has pursue a new career outside the so-called traditional professions.

There's only two ways to use a journalism degree in Appalachia: work for one of the several papers, or go back to school. In Everywoman's particular situation, the only recourse was to go back to school for a doctorate. Fortunately, one of the major journalism schools in the nation was within driving distance. Actually, it was a two-hour drive either way. However, to make all of that scholarly work more pleasurable she had the chance to work on a second writing masters with

major Appalachian writers.

Everywoman told herself women must have more equal opportunity in academe than in newspaper work. She thought of a time three years in the future when the doors would begin to open. She was soon disabused of this notion. Even though women do have more opportunity as a professor of journalism. As the fight to get her first job has shown, recognition for competence does not come with a degree if one is a woman. Doing what a woman wants to in a college journalism job is skewed by the same system of unequal rewards for equal work that pervade the newspaper profession.

However, a college education gave Everywoman what Paulo Friere has called a revolutionary tool – "education." For with education, we walk through the thoughts of others across the centuries. This walk converges on pathways of self-discovery. We learn to question. We learn to form strategies for change. We learn to form arguments to overcome those that deny gender discrimination. We burn bridges, and there is no turning back.

Everywoman Speaks Out to Overcome Denial

For three years, Everywoman drove four hours – out of an Appalachian hollow and across two counties – to commute to the main campus at a regional university. She had to drive that distance because she could not bear to force the children to leave their schools and their friends, nor her husband to have to drive thirty more files to get to his job. She knew it would be tough for her and her family during those years with three of them in college (a son was also an honors student), but after that she would no doubt be able to find a position that would pay a respectable salary, in the same way her husband had found one.

All the required masters courses Everywoman took through the English Department at the

university were about male writers and thinkers, except for a few isolated studies into what a prominent full professor at the institution called those "neurotic, self-abnegating women Sylvia Plath and Anne Sexton, who killed themselves." Women students complained among themselves that in most classes the highest grades they were awarded to papers that reflected a certain "female" perspective; i.e., papers that developed their troubled thoughts on the blood image of menstruation and self-mutilation. If they wanted higher grades, they would write on those themes. That is, to follow the convoluted argument given by the misogynistic professor: if a woman succeeds well she has to write neurotic and self-abnegating thoughts and destroy her internal thought processes, and this would be translated into external rewards – until she elects to finish herself off totally.

In frustration, Everywoman pursued 30 hours of a collateral women's studies certificate within her masters and doctorate so she could study about strong role models from her half of the human race. She learned about Christine de Pizan's *The Book of the City of Ladies*,[18] written in 1405, which was an allegorical work similar to Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales*, but which disappeared from public consumption in the banning of books during the time of medieval witch-burnings. The work of France's first women of letters reappeared in 1980, published by Persea Books after 500 years of being censored.

De Pizan was only one of a long list of women intellectuals who had written about the moral awareness of women and about the rights of women. Everywoman felt she had entered a whole new universe, filled with new role models to emulate. It never occurred to Everywoman that the women's studies certificate would later raise questions on her vita of serious scholarship. She could have never imagined a scenario were it would come up in context with the "F-word."

At the time she was struggling with immediate problematic arguments the reading of the book had raised. Everywoman was troubled that she could so easily recall phrases from Chaucer's and Shakespeare's works, but had to reach to remember phrases from de Pizan. Everywoman felt her birthright had been taken from her by academe. But she worried more about those who had never even heard about the birthright.

Anyone who has every attended the more advanced journalism schools believes the faculty are making great headway in mainstreaming women into their journalism curriculum. However, Everywoman was truly disappointed that major theory classes on journalism's philosophical beginnings were all about male thinkers. She found that a university education earned her the right to learn more about the male way of thinking. One professor even remarked about her choice of writing a paper on a woman scholar, observing that Everywoman would have received a higher grade if she had written about "a serious subject" taken from the list of thinkers he had put together. The philosophy and historiography classes of her doctoral program were more of the same. At least there were no suicidal women to emulate. There were apparently no women thinkers at all to emulate except Mabel Luhan Dodge, who was characterized in the course's text as a radical woman who married a number of men and finally settled down with an Indian in Taos.

Everywoman was pulled up from the ranks to teach a graphics course to 50 graduate students during a professor's leave of absence. She was the only one among the graduate students who had training in graphics. During her last year of doctoral courses, the then-business manager of the department signed her up to teach a course in reporting, which would also bring with it a continuing waiver in tuition. A week before the course was to begin, she was pulled out to make way for a much younger male. However, her female doctoral advisor interceded to make sure she had funds to complete her program. The advisor said she had gone through adversarial experiences herself in the profession.

Everywoman had further problems to worry about, typical problems – the kind previously alluded to that women talk about when men are not around because they feel men would not understand, would only get defensive. They are gender-specific problems. Saying this, Everywoman further reveals her story. She also declares such touchy problems must not remain underground or they seem not to be there. If a problem is not visible, it does not exist.

As Everywoman entered her final doctoral quarter, her husband of 16 years panicked, withdrawing all emotional and economic support. Just when she needed his support the most, he

started an affair with a younger version of herself, whom he could dominate. Apparently, this is a common phenomenon among women who get doctorates: spouses for some reason feel abandoned. When their wives are right on the edge of success, of receiving the doctoral degree, they want their wives to quit. Still, she was determined to complete the degree – with or without support. She did not know if she could operate without emotional support from her spouse. But she knew women often must work on individual plans; and more importantly, she knew for her own survival, she must. She knew her mother had set a straight course when she had to overcome obstacles to reach a goal.

Spouses are not the only ones to withdraw support. Invariably someone is troubled in the extended family and the community when a woman who has served as a wife and a mother seeks an occupation outside of the traditional roles. And, some take great exception when a woman declares a course of self-improvement not tied to husband and/or children. In Everywoman's case, her eldest brother, of Pentecostal faith, had withdrawn emotional support seven years earlier, the day she entered college. His stated reason was that a married woman should be in subjection to her husband. Her brother's last letter to her said that college women were feminists who became communists that worked to split up the traditional American model of families. God had revealed to him that she would surely die if she proceeded on her course. Everywoman had not bought into that one either.

But, now the problems were closer to home. Through the last few months of her doctoral period, Everywoman entered a woman's shelter, where she stayed until she could find a place to live. A neighbor got her children off to school on the weekdays. Her doctoral advisor helped her obtain a $5,000 student loan. Her husband tried to commit suicide. Her children were drawn into the unsettling circumstances and suffered greatly along with her. It was hard to focus on living, let alone her studies, but Everywoman stuck with it.

Another journalism professor, who also came from a dual career family, actively sought money for her through Scripps Howard, based on Everywoman's research into women in

journalism. Still another professor gave Everywoman two tickets to a journalism awards banquet, hoping – no doubt – that her husband would attend too. Few knew how severe her straits had become because she worked on surviving and suffered in silence. She managed to get food stamps.

She was unable to attend the awards luncheon to receive the $1,000 that came through from Scripps Howard because of a staff decision at the women's shelter. Women at the shelter were not allowed out after dark. It seemed like a temporary setback. More importantly she filed for divorce. Meanwhile, her husband had second thoughts. He said he must have gone through temporary insanity. He would never be unfaithful again. A few weeks later Everywoman joined her husband at a university president's luncheon, where he was honored by 500 for graduating summa cum laud, one of the top ten students in business the university. So much irony here: two award ceremonies, two states of mind. She had wanted him to be there for her as well.

They launched on dual-career paths. When her husband came disabled on his job, she felt justified for getting an education. However, the road to change does not come overnight in the profession. When she could not get hired by the regional university near her husband's work because she "was not qualified," as has already been discussed, she worked as a temporary worker in the primary and secondary schools and filed for jobs across the nation.

She was asked to come to an interview. When she arrived, she found the job was downgraded to that of visiting professor, with "the promise" that it would undoubtedly be upgraded later in the academic year. Instead, she found that another professor just hired was told the same thing. They discovered that both of them were hired for two temporary slots, which in turn would become one permanent slot. She won one of the top research awards in women's studies for a paper about women in communications management. She felt hopeful. However, at the end of the year, the other person won out.

The family returned to the location of her husband's job, where he struggled to work with his disabling injury. She applied for the position of an editorial writer, for much less pay, at the university where she had been told her doctoral status had not qualified her to teach journalism. She

had good evaluations from her boss. However, when her boss there discovered she had filed an EEOC complaint earlier against the journalism department there, she was let go just short of six months — the cut-off time for firing without an explanation.

Her husband was suffering due to his injury. She got a job in an institution in the south. Again they went across country. She worked there for three years, with an distinguished record. Again, when it came time for permanent status, she did not get tenure. She and 17 other women hired in the same period, across the curricula, were let go the month after the college received accreditation. During a meeting in which they shared their uncertain prospects, they discovered that the college administration had been told to hire women, or else. She filed an EEOC complaint again. Nothing came of it.

Everywoman was beginning to feel like Elizabeth Blackwell, the first woman doctor, who wore herself out just trying to get a job. Once again, her husband abandoned her for a younger woman. She managed to get a one-year appointment. Again she distinguished herself. Again she got a job: this time in an institution where she as the only woman except the secretary to be female. Several women had been rotated in the position she now held; then rotated out. Not a so-different story after all in the hidden dialogue of women.

Everywoman must also say that she learned to be more realistic; she began to understand problems plague the woman journalist everywhere she goes, in the same way problems plague women at any stage of their careers. These problems are unrecognized, trivialized, often denied, but they are there. As A. I. Meldon pointed out, to raise questions may be irritating and may bring hostility from certain quarters. However, the questions must be raised, as well as addressed, one at a time.

Male journalists – men in the professions – encounter problems too, but they are recognized problems, not invisible. Everywoman would like for them to be held accountable in the same way she has been held accountable, and all women journalists are held accountable, for the welfare of all the people who strive to succeed in the profession. Female journalists, after all, are similar to male

journalists, in that they want to live and to grow and to succeed. This must be recognized, even if many of those in the profession cannot be persuaded to work on behalf of those who have struggled. If those who have been enfranchised cannot work toward the nobler gains of extending opportunity to all people - whether the discrimination is based on ethnic, gender-specific or class difference - then let them work to help a "fellow" journalist, even if she is a woman.

Each gain a woman journalist makes as an individual must necessarily be, using an allegory, Everywoman's gain. If she has this onus thrust upon her, then she must speak for Everywoman. She must show that Everywoman wants to live, to grow, to succeed. Everywoman is like the first in her family who has gone to college. All the family hopes go with her, and she cannot fail.

BEYOND THE ALLEGORY

Applying Gender-Reversal to Overcome Denial

Everywoman's dialogue has given the unspoken discrimination a number of popular names. One that seems to hang on is the image of "the glass ceiling" in the profession. The glass ceiling is sister to the secretary's "pink collar ghetto." Like male journalists, the women professionals see what is possible; they are lulled into believing that opportunity is equal for all. They are brought down by the realization that the professional models favor men, from cub reporter to full professor. Discrimination even sits in the classroom, in which there almost always seems to be one male student who tries to change the agenda of his female professor.

Here is a modest proposal. One not so far-reaching as killing all-male babies, but full of potential. I previously mentioned the frustration women feel in a college program that talks only about the learning of men. Men and women in college are like horses who wear blinders; they only study from the male perspective. Why not put on the blinders for the opposite effect? Urge men

and women to study only the contributions of women for a year. If that seems outrageous, if that is not possible, why not require men and women college students to take at least one course in women's studies in their basic curriculum?

If both men and women could study women, men would learn more about the dialogue of women. It would not continue to go underground to survive. Take the following idea, which has circulated for a number of years in the feminist underground. Certain feminists were troubled that the scale that measures potential to do a proscribed job is weighted in the male's favor in many ways. One is the rule that those in military service are given veteran's preference for defending their country. In the past, these privileged have almost always been men.

It is questioned by feminists why women in family service are not given veteran's preference for raising the young. The hidden dialogue of women asks why, if we value the rearing of children so much, we do not reward women who faithfully serve with the same kinds of incentives men receive as veterans who have faithfully served? Why must this home veteran be penalized for her service, ever behind the male candidate in a job, even if one is to consider the time of service alone? Why must this home veteran suffer the repercussions of subsistence retirement while the military veteran receives a nice pension?

The power to set the agenda is a mighty one. If women were in charge, the current agenda would no doubt discuss the necessity for rewarding mothers for service. Men would be participating in a hidden dialogue, wondering why military veterans are not rewarded for faithful service. I speak with intuition on both perspectives because of a mother and a father who worked for their country's survival during World War II.

My recently deceased father, who joined the U.S. Calvary in 1937, joined the Navy in 1941. His ship, the U.S.S. Astoria, was sailing 700 miles west of Pearl Harbor on December 7, 1941. His ship eventually went down in Guadalcanal. Following the trauma of that action, he was washed out on a Section 8, being the one in five veterans affected by what subsequently has become known as Vietnam complex. He found it difficult to hold a job for long. He found it impossible to maintain

familial relationships. He descended into alcoholism.

My mother suffered from the same type of complex resulting from the war, although she was never in military service. She worked in an aircraft factory during the war, putting together what they today call black boxes. She loved the job. While my father was in service, she worked full time and at the same time was responsible for the upbringing of three children. When the war was over, there was a call by President Truman for "Rosie the Riveter" to go home so that the veterans could come back to their jobs. In the traditional male model, there were many males only too happy to get back to work outside the home and females only too happy to get back to work inside the home. However, my mother suffered trauma because she was thrown out of the job she loved.

My father, continuing to suffer from the G.I. complex, was unable to hold a job for long. On the other hand, he was quite taken with the management of the home. He had fought enough battles; he wanted to be in a more familial environment. But he was not allowed to stay there; men at that time were supposed to want more "manly" occupations. My father was shamed by other males into pursuing a job he did not want. He worked at a meat-cutting plant for a while, and shoveled manure in a stable -- because men do that sort of thing. He could not manage to hold a job for long.

While my father had disability and pension benefits to fall-back on in his later life, there were no safety nets for my mother. Truman's sort of man could not see there might be a possibility that Rosie the Riveter might have to have a job, might even want to work outside the home. So my mother labored on a women's salary of waitress, which was 60 cents an hour, to keep the family afloat. The hours were long because at that wage one must work much longer hours to survive. There were countless like her. The need for a women's voice was never so strong as in the post-war period, but only the traditional male, GI-Joe perspective was heard.

The GI-Joe perspective dominated the journalism profession as well. Many women who had labored during the war in media positions, some with distinction, were fired so that a man could

take their position. Some of these women even trained the men to do the job they had held before given their walking papers. Caroline Iverson, the aviation editor at *Life* Magazine during World War II, is a typical case. She developed a position no one had held before. Yet at the end of the war, she found herself out of work, after training a man to take the position.

If one accepts that media are only a reflection of culture -- if we are to expect change -- the dominant class cannot continue to be protected from life stories of women (and certain life stories of men), or from any adverse story (or idea) to its own way of thinking. Media must seek these stories out to form experiential philosophies. We can work from experiential philosophies to form greater truths. In this way, the can form innovative ideas to incorporate a women's dialogue that speaks with confidence, especially in the media.

Here is another modest proposal. One innovative approach would be to exercise a reversal of role-playing models. This is not a new idea. Males could imagine that they were women seeking positions in the mass media, if only for a short while, and women imagine they were men. This would be a kind of sensitivity training.

Men in the reversal of roles no doubt would at first find it difficult to withstand such onslaughts as a whole psychological construct based on vagina envy, in which they were said to want to be women. They might question whether it has to be true that their daughter was flawed for life, robbed of her womanhood, because her clinging father tied her to his apron strings. They might struggle against being chastised for possessing victim mentality because they are as a class raped and beat.

Women in the reversal of roles no doubt would not be able to resist the attraction of setting the agenda as the dominant culture, knowing they will be paid more because society has said they are smarter. They could not stand to discover they are flawed for life, robbed of sensitivity because as a class they are perceived as less sensitive. They could not stand to be chastised for possessing a criminal mentality because they as a class rape and beat others.

Role-playing and writing from the women's perspective are both viable options. This option

has been tried, with some success. The female protagonist, Farah Fawcett Majors, presented the women's perspective in "The Burning Bed," a movie in which she was a battered woman who literally struck out against the system by striking a match. Majors played out a role reversal in a movie called "Extremities," in which she tortured a potential rapist in the same way he had tortured her. In "Extremities," Majors comes very close to experiencing the same rage as the rapist.

Of course, the most dangerous type of person in the dominant culture, which just happens to be male, is the one who sits in an editorial office, drafting editorials about changing life for the better for his daughter -- someday -- not realizing the changes must be made today by him for his daughter and for his son and for his wife if tomorrow's dreams are to be fulfilled. He must be sensitized to the problem in order to make a commitment and to design a viable program for change. That is, the dominant culture, which has most of the options to set the agenda, must be the one to take the initiative. The powerful must help the powerless if we all are to develop a world that is made for the good of all. Otherwise, true equality will only be a pipe dream.

If women and men will embrace thoughts proposed by women, or will take the initiative of exchanging roles, women and men will be able to find the strength to take and withstand criticism based on gender difference. Male philosophers might even be criticized for failing to be a father first. Mothers might even be criticized for failing to be philosophers first. Following the feminist model, the male could even be allowed to be more of a man than an adult in some cases while a woman can be more of an adult than a woman. The female belief that men should be held accountable for an equal formula of caretaking will not have to go underground, echoed in complaints in that second language of women.

Applying Feminist Theories to Overcome Denial

Unless dramatic action is taken by the dominant culture of today, the editor's wife and his daughter are and ever will be what Simon de Beauvoir called "The Other." The concept of "The Other" is based on the transcendence of the phallus; it is a constant that a person without a penis cannot measure up -- literally. De Beauvoir writes about "The Other":

> Whether she knows that she is or is not comparable with boys is secondary; the important thing is that, even if she is unaware of it, the absence of the penis prevents her from being conscious of herself as a sexual being. From this flows many consequences.[19]

Let's look at some of the consequences. An individual is always explained through ties with the past, and not in respect to the future to which aims are projected; this applies to both the woman and the man.[20] Woman is enticed by two modes of alienation under the choices of this hypothesis. She could decide that she will play at being a man, and be constantly frustrated. As de Beauvoir writes, there will be a masculine protest to her efforts. After all, a little girl climbs a tree to show her equality with boys, she does not climb trees because she likes to. This is the typical rationalization. Or, she could choose to become "The Other" and constantly be frustrated. She could create a parallel life where boys will climb trees because they want to, and girls definitely should not want to do that sort of thing.[21]

De Beauvoir said women must somehow transcend both images and define for herself what she must be.[22] And, this is what a female journalist must do if she is ever to be an editor-in-chief of a daily newspaper or a full professor in a credible journalism program. In any case, whichever route she takes, she is sure to feel alienated and frustrated. Concerning "The Other," this is a starting point for Gilligan's *In a Different Voice*. She writes that there are two modes of describing the relationship between "the other and self." That is, the female in de Beauvoir's philosophical treatise

is called "The Other." Gilligan aptly transposes the model; she proposes that man must be "The Other" in her psychological construct. It is a necessary refocusing that calls male thinkers to adjust themselves to the idea that woman's mode of solving moral problems just might be the dominant one because it is woven into the cycle of life -- recurring in people's judgments, fantasies and thoughts.[23]

Gilligan is definitely not an apologist. She suggests the possibility that we consider that man's voice might just as well be the deviant mode. If we are to allow for change, we must give full credence to this possibility. Gilligan writes that women voices are more distinct than the so-called "traditional" model developed and claimed by men as better, who are able to amplify their particular perspective through controlling many societal conduits, including the media. Gilligan maintains that the key to recognizing the problem is understanding that men's development is based on "the repeated exclusion of women from the critical theory-building studies of psychological research."[24]

One can conclude that in the same way one judges women's theories to be "lesser" without examining them, one can just as well conclude that the theories are "superior" to male logic without examining them. In Gilligan's "Male as Other" interpretation, woman's place is first defined in the context of man's life cycle -- nurturer, caretaker, and helpmate. Citing a 1976 study by Jean Baker Miller, Gilligan writes:

> [W]hile women have thus taken care of men, men, have, in their theories of psychological development, as in their economic arrangements, tended to assume or devalue that care. When the focus on individuation and individual achievement extended into adulthood and maturity is equated with personal autonomy, concern with relationships appears as a weakness of women rather than a human strength.[25]

In simple words, the male model does not allow women to be both women and adults. A sure and certain animosity is likely to arise when women attempt to depart from the role of

caretaker in the male "otherness" model, to attempt to redefine themselves as adults with autonomy. This animosity is reflected in the M.I.T. professor's anecdote about Gilligan, in which he was insistent that workshop participants know that she had somehow failed in her personal role as caretaker. He focused on what he perceived as women's place rather than focusing on her ability to form a psychological theory.

Applying Historical Analysis to Overcome Denial

Historical models show that change is slow to come. For instance, Ishbel Ross managed to gain some respect in the newsroom by somehow seeming to be "The Other" of the male model while setting her own agenda. But as interpreted in de Beauvoir's mode, Ross did feel alienated and frustrated. Ross measured up to the standards of her male colleagues by seeming to be one of the boys in competency while in other ways being thought of as a woman. She made her male colleagues believe that it was all right to be as good as any male journalist as long as a woman remembered "to act like a lady."

Frank Waters, who was a copy boy when she was a city-side reporter, said he recalls her as "a quiet, dignified, considerate woman with a high degree of competency."[26] George Cornish, a former co-worker at the *Herald Tribune* said she was uncomplaining "like a man," but he predicated that with a stereotypical comment about her femininity:

> Ask any man who worked with Ishbel Ross on the newspaper, he will have nothing but positive things to say. Ishbel was one of the first New York women reporters--perhaps the first--who was never confined to the 'women's angle' type of story. She was in appearance and manner extremely feminine, but on a story she asked no favors of anyone.[27]

This is true, because as we know, a man never asks favors of anyone.

Still a third co-worker, Walter Hamsher writes in the same vein. He said that one of the features of the city room in during Ross' time (the 1920s) were the telephone booths scattered around the city room, which was on the fifth floor, for the use of reporters in getting stories. Phones had not yet been installed at all the desks.[28] He said, that is when he first noticed Ross:

> Like all reporters, she did most of her work in getting stories on the phone. Maybe not most, but certainly much. Ishbel was an attractive woman, and all the males were happy to see her in the phone booth because there she would sit with her legs crossed showing very gorgeous silk stockinged legs. She seldom closed the door of the booth, so that when she was called to the phone to get a story, it was usually an occasion for many of the city room wolves to sit and stare.[29]

In Ross' description of men and women in the newsroom, in *Ladies of the Press*, she does not tell us if she stared at the legs of male reporters in the phone booths. However, while in the newsroom, she certainly kept her opinions about the status of women reporters to herself.

After she left the *Herald Tribune*, she acknowledged the difficult struggle a woman goes through to be accepted in the newsroom. In the book, Ross writes caustically, "The women who have gone fartherest in journalism are not those who have yipped most loudly about their rights."[30] Here, she uses a comment you would have thought a male would have made to prove her point. Ross explains: "Peace at any price is the city room philosophy."[31]

Ross once told a friend, H. B. Fant, of the National Archives, "I have sometimes been at the Harvard Club for one thing or another, although in my reportial days no woman was allowed even to cross the threshold -- journalist or not."[32] This must have rankled her greatly because she also writes about the exclusion in *Ladies of the Press*:

> It is absurd to maintain that a woman can do everything a man can do on a paper. She can't get into the Lotus Club in New York, or cross the Harvard Club threshold. She is denied the chummy barroom conferences of the politician, and cannot very well invade a Senator's room in Washington when he has no time to answer her questions except as he changes for dinner.[33]

Ross said the rule does not work so conclusively the other way. The only obstacle male reporters encountered were Eleanor Roosevelt's Monday morning conferences. Ross writes:

> The youths who are picked for the pink tea assignments are welcomed with joy at the woman's meeting. It is a sad reflection for the woman reporter who swears by her sex that the most pampered scribe at feminine gatherings is usually a man--and a man who would rather not be there.[34]

The problem appears to be twofold. Men must want to overcome the prejudices that somehow maintain they cannot enjoy being with women, doing what women do in professional gatherings. And, women must be accepted in so called men's professional gatherings.

Ross maintains that the functions of the city staff are almost always interchangeable, regardless of gender. She said:

> A woman may cover a subway wreck and a man do a fashion show on the same afternoon with excellent results in both cases. A good reporter can do telling work with almost any set of facts, short of relativity. He need not be a specialist. He need not even be initiated.[35]

Ross made these similar statements in the 1920s, 1930s and the late 1960s. It is an interesting side-note that reaffirms certain aspects of Gilligan's and de Beauvoir's "Otherness" theories, that the perception toward Ross by her colleagues in the journalism profession change

when she left the *Herald Tribune* in 1933 to become a mother and an author. There is a sense of regret expressed by her male colleagues, but especially Stanley Walker, her former city editor. However, they focus on her decision to become an author, rather than her motherhood, to explain their perspective toward her leaving the newspaper -- as if motherhood is somehow a lesser choice.

India McIntosh, who joined the *Herald Tribune* around the time Ishbel Ross left it, said she like Ross still fought to get the major story, even after 15 years on the newspaper. McIntosh noted that the male newsroom is fearful of women's emotional equipment; therefore, the women reporters cannot get the front-page stories. More likely, the male hierarchy fears woman because she is perceived to be the unknown factor except as defined by relationships with girlfriends, wives and lovers. Each of these categories are defined by a relationship with a male. None of these categories speak to capability in the newsroom.

The male reporter places himself in some kind of ego affirmation in which he perceives other males to be capable on the job only because he is capable. Privilege can be shared with those as capable as oneself to handle it. Because men have traditionally "owned" the newsroom, they perceives themselves as the most capable in filling the columns on the front page. As McIntosh writes, the woman reporter has the nigh on impossible job of proving she's capable -- by already being capable. Here's the typical story for the woman reporter:

> One the whole, the stories which she covers are one-day stands; they are tidy little episodes which can be packaged in three-quarters of a column and then forgotten. With hungry eyes, she watches the men reporters draw most of the running stories -- the big stories, with many facets, which splash page one for days or even weeks, surging to a climax or boiling over into a half a dozen stories or fading to a one-line head as imperceptibly as the Cheshire cat faded to a grin.[36]

McIntosh writes, during the late 1940s, even though gains had been made: "The city desk is

masculine; therefore, it harbors man's innate distrust of woman's emotions."[37] This is an example of how dominance redefines reality. It is just too coincidental that those who get the best assignments have a convenient justification for getting them.

Although the newsroom is slowly changing to include more women in the decision-making roles, such as editor of the city desk, the story is the same for women journalists. Marion Marzolf, citing Ross, wrote in *Up From the Footnote*, that the woman journalist of the 1970s really has to be a paradox:

> She must be ruthless at work . . . gentle in private life . . . not too beguiling to dazzle the men and disrupt the work . . . comradely with the male reporters . . . able to take the noise and pressure and rough language of the city room without showing disapproval or breaking into tears under the strain of rough criticism.[38]

Today the attitudes still prevail. Conversations by women, for women, about women reveal the occasional glimpses of the hidden dialogue. Women still are fighting for respect in the newsrooms, fighting for equal treatment and equal pay. Could a man withstand the same conflicting agenda: be ruthless, but not too beguiling; do not dazzle too much, and above all, show camaraderie toward the female employees? And if someone tells some sexist jokes that seem to insult his maleness, be sure not to take it personally?

No, things have not changed much since Ishbel Ross wrote in the 1920s that the woman journalist is handicapped by being the unwanted person in gatherings of men.[39] The woman journalist wears out her welcome by the very fact she is a woman. If she decides to become "The Other," she will be sent to features or the women's page, where she does the work "she is suited for." Erma Bombeck's humor column fitted into this genre (speaking to problems of the housewife). Contrast this with Art Buchwald's humor; his column was perceived to be one of a political columnist who speaks to the problems of the whole of American society -- male and female.

If the woman journalist decides to become one of the boys, she will always be the step-child of the newsroom whose deviant capability must be explained: "She's a woman, but she can write as good as any man -- even though she writes from a women's perspective, of course. And, she does occasionally write women's pieces. But she rarely pushes that women's rights stuff on us." Ellen Goodman's work falls into this genre. Meanwhile, someone like James Reston speaks for both genders.

Imagine women being defined wholly by males and you have the newsroom of the past. Imagine women being defined by males, the woman step-child and woman "The Other," and you have the newsroom of today. The hidden dialogue is not surfacing; it is transmogrifying into an ever more-elusive language of denial and evasion.

Being Accountable to Overcome Denial

Although the sexes are rarely identified per se in stories and columns, the phenomenon of men claiming dominance is perennially there. It's like telecasting a men's basketball team called the Lobos, and hearing it called the basketball team for the University of New Mexico, but never the Gentlemen Lobos. It's like seeing a women's basketball team, and hearing it called the Lady Lobos, but never the Lobos. Or, it is like calling the men's sports teams the Aggies, and the women's sport teams the Roadrunners, like they do at New Mexico State University.

It's like seeing on CNN a mob of males in Iraq, waving signs about the "Great Satan." The voice-over says, "Thousands of people in Iraq take to the streets to protest America's presence in the Gulf, firing guns in the streets." No, not true. "Thousands of men in Iraq take to the streets." The women of Iraq are at home, behind the chador.

Vice versa, in April 1990, media first described the Kurdish rebellion in male terms of

soldiers. A more accurate coverage was the aged grandmother, stooping under a heavy shoulder pack, slipping and sliding on the muddy road over the mountain passes to Iran. A misnaming of actuality demonstrates the fact that women often wear veils that render them invisible in many ways and in many situations. They become mummeries in the same way the women of Shiite Islam beliefs become mummeries.

It takes a discerning person actively searching for discrimination to find all the cases because of it being rendered nearly invisible through the complicated process of denial. And, the filtered process of denial is so pervasive that no one can catch all the instances. As Henry Truitt of The University of New Mexico told this researcher (February 22, 1991), the problem of discrimination has become very difficult to address because it is still rampant but has all but gone farther underground. He said that often an older woman candidate for a professorial position will be brought in for the interview, but she will never be told that her oldness and "womanness" is the reason she is not hired. Instead, she will be told that the job is not a match; that the journalism department is looking for someone with a different specialty.

If she makes things tough for the search committee, they can always say they had to delay the search for a year because of limited funds. If that does not work, they can use the old bait-and-switch technique. Send her on her way to another "wonderful job opportunity" in another state. Truitt said the justifications are limited only by one's ability to invent reasons. A woman applicant for a professorial post will, like others, be mailed a card to fill out, which asks her to identify her status by gender and race.

A second agenda is also looming behind the questions. The cards are pulled out later for an accrediting team by the college or university to show that women were recruited for tenure-track positions. One or two of those women might be brought to campus for an interview. But most often, the male applicants brought to campus will greatly outnumber the women. And, most often, the male applicants are the only ones seriously considered for the job.

Universities like other institutions have learned the error of saying, "I did not like this

candidate because she is a woman." Rather, she and everyone else will hear an agreed-upon story, sometimes not even consciously defined. Pick the most suitable response below, which should be easy, because even Jesus Christ was not perfect -- and he was not only the Son of God, but a man:

1) "She is not suited for this job because she does not do enough research."
2) "She is not suited for this job because she does not have enough experience."
3) "She is extraordinarily well suited for a job somewhere, but not here because . . .
4) "We could not fill this position with a woman because no one with the right qualifications applied for the position."
5) "We made every effort to bring a woman on board, including bringing one to campus who had fewer credentials; therefore, we bent over backward to hire a woman. No one can claim we have not done everything possible to overcome discrimination."
6) " . . . because and because and because . . . (add your own response here)."

In this way Title VII of the Civil Rights act is used by the potential employers for their own purposes. They can use the demographic cards to demonstrate that they have touched all bases to recruit women. After all, they put in their job ad in the AEJMC News: "Women and minorities are encouraged to apply." The woman journalist, unfortunately, cannot ask in her letter of application, "Do you want me to apply to make you look good, or is this statement a true reflection of a commitment to consider me a serious candidate for the job?"

That is why it is so hard to understand why the journalism profession, through the AEJMC, has waited so long to take the initiative to act upon discrimination in its own organizational structure. A quarter of a century after people marched on behalf of equality for women and minorities, the AEJMC finally moved to help women and minorities by granting full stature to the Commission on Status of Women and the Commission on Status of Minorities. Now, battle have to

be fought again, with the news definitions brought on by the legal challenge to Standard 12.

I believe that it's better late than never to take action. I tell myself that journalism as a profession does not make the news, it covers the news -- so it is therefore, a reactive profession. It just took AEJMC a lot of time to react. However, I then tell myself that journalists are trained to be in-the-know about the First Amendment. Knowing how important freedom of expression is to the very existence of humanity, they should be the standard-bearers for all people. Journalists should be carrying the flag on the front line, not sneaking toward the front after the first major volleys are fired, holding a notion akin to the one that declares "God is on our side" because we journalists cannot have discriminated. The true state of affairs is that the war against discrimination is only beginning. The D-word is alive and well in the journalism profession.

Being Introspective to Overcome Denial

All through the hiring process the agenda of denial is often in effect. This denial is exercised especially by those departments who have hired one or two women because "their journalism program is democratic." As investigative reporter, I conducted a little research on this process of denial at the Portland AEJMC conference (1988). One of the most popular aspects of that convention, as well as others, particularly for newly-minted doctors of philosophy in journalism and communication, is the Job Services Board. Interested job candidates are invited to send twelve copies of their curriculum vita to national headquarters. The vitae are collected and placed in notebooks. Each prospective applicant is assigned a number. Likewise, the universities conducting searches send in job descriptions, which are collected in notebooks. Each institution is also assigned a number.

A job board is erected at the AEJMC convention. Candidates look through the institutional

notebook, then fill out a request to be interviewed by a college or university with the assigned number. The institution is only identified on the board through its number. This request is placed on the job board. For instance, a job applicant, who has been assigned No. 8, might fill out and pin to the board a color-coded request to be interviewed by an institution that has been assigned No. 34. The interview time is arranged by request.

In the same way, designates to the institutions hunt through the notebooks with the collected vitae. A recruiter from institution No. 34 will fill out and pin to the board a color-coded request to interview a prospective candidate who may have been assigned No. 8. The interview time is arranged by request.

In this case, it is a perfect match. Both the recruiter and the candidate evidently belong to a mutual admiration society. Who can argue the value of such a democratic process, which caters so specifically to the needs of both the interested employer and the prospective employee? It would seem to be the most democratic of processes.

Unfortunately, the reverse is the case. As I looked through the notebook of curriculum vitae, I noted a score of female candidates and about three times the number of male candidates. I specifically divided the assigned numbers by gender. That is, I noted which of the candidates' numbers represented female applicants and which represented male candidates. I then moved to the job board.

The numbers of female and male candidates requesting interviews with the institutions' representatives appeared with about equal frequency over a three-day period in direct proportion to the number of applicants. However, concerning the slips placed by the recruiters, one woman received recruitment requests from three institutions; a second woman received one. I saw no other requests from college and university recruiters to interview the rest of the female candidates. The board was literally snowed under with requests for interviews with the numbers representing male candidates. Limitations of this informal study are that the candidates could not be identified by race to see if the same general trends are reflected. A racial bias could not be validated in any

case by this method because name does not usually single out a person by race on the job board -- only by gender. I must say that it must have been tiring to some of the recruiters to have to take time to interview someone who was Black, but who could not be weeded out because his name was "John."

In 1989, after receiving my Ph.D. in communications, I actively sought a number of positions. Then the job board at the AEJMC convention took on an added significance. At the Washington and Minnesota (1990) conventions, I noted the same trend of choosing male candidates over female candidates (when numbers are held constant) in a ratio of about 50 times to one. With the results of the 1988 convention survey running through my mind, I was too frustrated to make specific counts at the latter two conventions, only noted general trends. For those who wonder why I wandered about the convention rooms in a blue funk, the cause is now fully revealed.

The AEJMC job board is not monitored by the federal government to see if women are being hired -- even when it is set up in a hotel down the street from The Capitol. Therefore, it is not necessary for institutions to go through to all those extra actions by which they pretend to consider women as fully qualified candidates.

This has been an invisible form of discrimination practiced overtly by many member institutions in the AEJMC. However, I suspect that from this time on, because the process of discrimination has been identified, institutions wanting to be thought of as nondiscriminatory will make every effort to interview women candidates through the "Job placement Board." Then, woman candidates interviewed at the convention will be caught up in the whole game that might or might not be saying, "We placed your number of the board because we are seriously considering you as a candidate."

Women Cannot Fight Denial By Themselves

As ennobling as it is, Everywoman does not have enough lifetimes to deal with all incidents of discrimination that fall in her path. I am reminded by Elizabeth Blackwell's persistence in which she was turned down by institution after institution -- year after year -- in her quest to be trained as a physician. Even after she gained her license, she was not allowed to practice because no one would have her. She had to establish her own infirmary in New York City to be able to realize her dreams of being a practicing physician.

Women today are likewise finding they have to establish their own businesses and professions, in order to be heard. Women, however, are finding it difficult to be entrepreneurs in the media because the start-up funds to launch a media organization are astronomical. Public access television does provide an alternate route to becoming visible. But to many women, public access inroads are a reminder of the real shortfalls they have across the whole of their lives in getting money to back effort.

In the long run, many are doing what Blackwell did. The battle for recognition in her profession turned into a prolonged campaign for women's rights. She had to turn her infirmary over to other women, which she had pulled up through the ranks. Blackwell went on the lecture circuit to raise the status of women across the professions.

Blackwell made it easier for women to succeed in ensuing generations, but not much easier, and destroyed her health while doing it. It took so many extra years to succeed at each step of her career: twice the number of years of a male candidate to go to medical school; that many times again to establish her own medical practice because she could not get into an established program. Her age and health caught up with her in the struggle.

Women who are journalists get so tired out having to prove themselves that they do not have the same amount of time as men have in the profession to show what they actually can do.

Plus, through implicit consent, the male-dominated culture places the extra burden of child-rearing and family cohesiveness upon the woman. I have already discussed the extra bonuses that have been given to Veterans, who have almost overwhelmingly been male. That is only one example of a long list of unequal rewards. If the premise of the job boards is an indication of what happen in the whole hiring process, it is no wonder that all women must be Elizabeth Blackwells. A time-line chart -- that is, a time-delay chart might be helpful in clarifying the problem.

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HYPOTHETICAL TIME-DELAY CHART

Male: **Desire To Be A Journalist**	**Female:** **Desire To Be A Journalist**
1. Adolescence. Father is an worker outside of home, providing role model; therefore, pretty clear will work, be accepted in profession.	**1. Adolescence.** Mother is a housewife; therefore, girl agonizes whether she ought to be working outside home, or should perhaps delay aspirations beyond child-rearing years.
2. High School. Works on high school newspaper; prospects good for college, unless low income; plays football or basketball.	**2. High School.** Works on high school paper; prospects good for college, unless low income; cheerleader.
3. ACT/SAT Scores. Scores high on gender-specific especially in science	**3. ACT/SAT Scores.** Scores lower than males tests; on gender-specific tests. and math.

4. Military.

Funding used for college, high option.

5. Scholarships

More scholarships offered to males: more males come from military; many have been awarded sports scholarships.

6. Curriculum.

Study about male journalists and male perspectives almost almost universally. Taught mostly by males. System skewed toward male

7. Marriage.

Male is secondary caretaker or no caretaker at all for children; most males, little responsibility for taking care of household; female takes up slack.

4. Military.

Funding used for college, low option.

5. Scholarships.

Fewer scholarships offered to females; fewer females from military; no sports scholarships for cheerleading, a few get in on fringe sports.

6. Curriculum.

Study male journalists and male perspectives almost universally. Taught mostly by males. Skewed against female advancement.

7. Marriage.

Primary caretaker or sole caretaker / children most females, much responsibility for taking care of household.

8. First Job.

If children, considered needing employment; Veteran preferences almost always to men.

9. Promotion.

Considered an analytical thinker because part of the old boy's club; service longer because little or no responsibilities as caretakers.

10. Salary.

Make a much higher salary because consistent career; military often adds years to years worked.

11. Advanced Degrees.

More often awarded men, who have in a shorter time period been given military incentives, higher pay, better positions, and having been privileged to be on fast track.

8. First Job.

If children, considered a liability; often unemployable except for part-time or low-paying dead-end job; penalized for being wife and mother.

9. Promotion.

Considered an emotional thinker because part of roles of wife and mother; professional service shorter.

10. Salary.

Make a lower salary, out of workforce while serving as wife, mother; or because forced to take low-paying jobs originally.

11. Advanced Degrees.

Less often awarded; it was much longer to complete the same career goals because of extra burden of child care and the built-in preference for males.

12. Professorial Posts.

Go more often to men;
because of longer service
to prove self; doctoral
requirements often waived
because of long period of
service on a magazine or
newspaper; preference because
male on larger and more
reputable newspapers,
more opportunities
available.

12. Professorial Posts.

Go less often to women;
shorter service
to prove self; doctoral
agenda rarely waived
because no woman can be a
full-time mother, wife;
full-time student; often
have had to take any
job she can get; often
part-time; ironically
often given longer hours,
more classes to teach.

13. Research.

The range is pretty wide open.

13. Research.

Must avoid the "Scarlet
Letter," "F" -- for
feminist, topics about
The "W" -- women.

14. Pension.

Enough years usually to live
on because salary can be up
to editor or full professor;
expected to succeed so given
all the responsibility could
handle during career, which
resulted in higher salary.

14. Pension.

Often substandard,
because shorter career
to work with; lower
wage level to charge
because of part-time
and year-to-year status.
often the primary
caretaker for the
aged parent.

15. Recognition. Because of incentives that go with tenure and long career, able to do much research and community service -- whatever is required by job for good and faithful service; likelihood of getting "gold watch" or contributions being known beyond lifetime; might even get a journalism building named after him.	**15. Recognition.** Vice versa likely.

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The Necessity for Taking Direct Action

What can the AEJMC do as a whole to work for change? One option would be to conduct an ongoing effort that monitors the hiring, promotion and retention of women (as well as of minorities) at universities across the nation. The association could count numbers and discover trends, by seeking answers to questions based on gender analysis. These should not be just one-time studies, but rather ongoing efforts to keep abreast of discriminatory hiring patterns. The following are only a starter list of what needs to be discovered, for instance, in J-departments:

1) Who is working tenure track?
2) Who has tenure?
2) Who is on permanent part-time status?
3) Who is on full-time renewable year-to-year status?
4) How do the range of salaries for male faculty members compare to the range of salaries for women faculty?
5) In what ways does the J-department work to mainstream a women's dialogue into the training of journalists?

It will be difficult indeed to design research instruments that measure the status quo in a profession that is so caught up in a process of denial toward gender discrimination. However, the task is not impossible for those dedicated to developing the human potential of all human beings. How will we know we are hearing the hidden dialogue as well as the one that is currently gender-dominant?

John Stuart Mill and Harriet Hardy Taylor Mill probably laid the groundwork best in the theory they developed on "controverting ideas." The hypothesis originated with Harriet, whose salon in the 1830s was called the political center of deliberations about tactics of radical activism in Parliament. She said that the strongest ideas are those that have been tested through the adversity of opposing viewpoints. She developed the idea further in her work called *The Enfranchisement of Women*,[40] a protracted essay that editors of her lifetime refused to believe that she had written. The editors maintained John Mill, as a man empathetic to women's rights, was the ghost author of that work. Her book was published only after John agreed to write an dedicatory note. After Harriet's death, John wrote a restatement of her Enfranchisement called *The Subjection of Women*.[41] The two works reflect gender-specific viewpoints. Harriet wrote of women's rights from the perspective of empowerment. John wrote of women's rights from the perspective of powerlessness.

The controverting of ideas is developed more fully by John Mill and/or Harriet Hardy in *On Liberty*, which many suggest was co-authored by both, even though Mill has long been credited in

the philosophical profession as the sole author.. The author (or authors) or *On Liberty* wrote that "on every subject truth depends on a balance struck between two sets of conflicting reasons,"[42] the philosophical constract espoused by Hardy. The essay further proposes:

> Nor is it enough that he [sic; a thinker] should hear the arguments of adversaries from his [her] own teachers, presented as they state them and accompanied by what they offer as refutations. That is not the way to do justice to the arguments or bring them into real contact with his [her] own mind. He [She] must be able to hear them from persons who actively believe them, who defend them in earnest and do their utmost for them. He must know them in their most plausible and persuasive forms; he [she] must feel the whole force of the difficulty which the true view of the subject has to encounter and dispose of; else he [she] will never really possess himself [herself] of the portion of truth which meets and removes that difficulty.[43]

A statement later on in the same essay clarifies the paradox of conflicting opinions: "Truth, in the practical concerns of life, is so much a question of reconciling and combining opposites."[44]

It is doubtful that *On Liberty* would have never been written without the contribution of Harriet's philosophical constructs. It is so easier to revert to the traditional male-dominated model. So easily, I myself could have slipped into the dominant vernacular here, by adding instead the following comment: "John could not have succeeded without the contribution of Harriet's love and support." In the spirit of collaborative authorship, the AEJMC can encourage a collaborative research effort. AEJMC can arbitrarily and pro-actively set up a conference based on "The Year of the Woman Journalist," in which Everyman and Everywoman are invited to write a paper on women in the profession, under-reported news content on women, unresearched and under-researched issues; as well as the self-censorship women put themselves through. That is, AEJMC can do what its Commission on Status of Women has done for its Bill of Rights Bicentennial Project. When the Commission called an end to the "Significant Silences" competition,

I and others were promised that the Commission would push the initiative formally. In fact, it did so informally, which is better than nothing. For the last several years the number of papers about women have increased significantly, from a dozen or so to four to five dozen.

The need to present many viewpoints is one of the maxims of the journalistic profession. That background should help the profession overcome the denial of gender dominance. Our commitment to allow for opposing viewpoints also places the journalism profession in a unique position to act as the catalyst for change. This is possible in that the profession already understands the basis of the concept.

For true equality to be realized for all, there must be a corollary potential to guard against such abuses. To fight against discrimination is to make sure that language of the dispossessed of society does not have to go underground to survive. Nor, should women writers have to kill themselves spiritually as did Plath and Sexton One of the great stamps of shame of the journalism profession was the suicide of Ishbel Ross — who apparently killed herself after being unrecognized and abandoned because of her commitment to research women — after 60 years of service.

We will know we are getting there, that the right to be heard will be fulfilled, when we hear such complaints in some newsrooms that too many women are editors, while too many men are confined to the ranks of reporter.

We will know we are getting there, that the right to be heard will be fulfilled, when in some J-departments, chairwoman have replaced competent men with their favorite "pretty girls" -- and someone complains about it.

We will know we are getting there, that the right to be heard will be fulfilled for both the W-word (woman) and the M-word (man), when the F-word (feminism) is synonymous with the I-word (independence) -- and the D-word (of denial) is out of vogue.

We will know we are getting there, that the right to be heard will be fulfilled, when the words, "We the People," mean we the women and the men, Everywoman and Everyman -- and nobody says "Shut Up!"

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The Making of Dr. Laura Schlessinger

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by

Phylis Johnson

Southern Illinois University

and

Max V. Grubb, Ph.D.

Southern Illinois University

Southern Illinois University
Department of Radio and Television
MAILCODE: 6609
Carbondale, IL 62901-6609
OFFICE: (618) 453-6987
HOME: (618) 351-1576
EMAIL:
phylisj@yahoo.com
mgrubb@siu.edu

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RUNNING HEAD: The Making of Dr. Laura Schlessinger

The Making of Dr. Laura Schlessinger

When Jimmy the Greek disparaged African Americans, he got fired. But when Laura Schlessinger calls gays and lesbians biological errors and pedophiles, Paramount gives her a TV show. While Ms. Schlessinger is free to malign minorities, corporate America is not required to subsidize it, in the names of Matthew Shepard, Brandon Teena and too many more, join us in a stand against intolerance. (Coalition, 2000)

Introduction

Ever since the evolution of radio into a broadcast medium, talk radio has existed both on network radio and among various local stations. The first talk radio programs were typically roundtable discussions centering on topics like politics, economics, and agriculture. By the 1930s, talk radio shows included everything from medical advisors to religious pundits. During the 1950s, with the invention of the seven second delay, the radio medium experienced the appearance of telephone talk radio ("The Talk Radio Research Project," 2001).

In the last two decades, the United States has seen an upsurge in the growth of talk radio. According to The Talk Radio Research Project (2001), there were only 75 talk radio stations on the air in 1980. Since that time, talk radio has experienced notable growth where in 1990 there were 200 talk radio stations, 500 in 1992, 1000 by 1994 and 1,350 talk radio stations by 1998.[1] The growth of talk radio during this period was precipitated by developing technologies in satellite and digital telephone communications, the elimination of the Fairness Doctrine in 1987, and the entrance of Wall Street investors, bankers, and venture capitalists into broadcasting. With these developments and a new entrepreneurial approach to broadcasting, an environment for talk radio to grow and flourish emerged.

As deregulation occurred, the American broadcasting system has shifted from objectivity to an advocacy model. Each broadcaster now asserts his or her right to put forth their political agenda. The result, the distinction between news, information, and entertainment has blurred - all in the name of constitutionality, but more likely in the name of ratings. Howard Stern, Rush

[1] This is the last year statistics are available.

Limbaugh, Don Imus, Bob Grant, and Laura Schlessinger, and other shock talkers are paid to be controversial, in essence increase audience ratings that translate into increased profits.

The top three talk show hosts in the nation, Rush Limbaugh, Laura Schlessinger, and Howard Stern, succeeded by catering toward specific audience appeals that potentially alienated certain populations based on: (1) race, ethnicity, and/or gender (Grant, Stern, and Limbaugh); (2) political views (Imus, Limbaugh, and Schlessinger); and/or (3) moral values (Schlessinger and Limbaugh) ("The Talk Radio Research Project," 2001). Limbaugh, Stern, and Schlessinger are perhaps characteristic of talk radio - each representing a unique niche. Rush Limbaugh's success has been achieved mainly through 'poli-tainment,' while Stern achieved his ratings through 'sex-tainment.' Schlessinger conversely accomplished her success through what the writers characterize as moral-tainment. Conservative moral platitudes drive the content of her show. While many male talk radio hosts have successfully duplicated Limbaugh's and Stern's shock radio style, few woman have been able to duplicate these approaches on a national level (Carter & Shiffman, 1998; Martin, 1995; Hinkley, 1998a). Schlessinger is the exception. She has been criticized for promulgating what certain groups have referred to as hate speech, not unlike Limbaugh and Stern (Anderson, 1993; Cohen & Solomon, 1994; Wood, 1992; Yes, 2000).

It is the intent of this discussion to analyze the historical events that led to the acceptance - and the rejection - of the moral platitudes of Dr. Laura Schlessinger, and her subsequent rise to fame. Is she just another shock talker - like Stern and Limbaugh - who uses morality as a gimmick toward higher ratings? Is Schlessinger really saying anything more hateful than what her male counterparts have already said on the air for many years? Did her "kid's mom" status give her more or less the perceived right to lecture on morality than her male shock counterparts, and did it lead to a different audience expectation of appropriate content for her show? Indeed, it would be impossible to address thoroughly all those issues in this article. Saying that, it would seem the most appropriate way to initiate any discussion is by an examination of hate radio, and the larger issue of shock radio, for this is the context into which Dr Laura rose to fame or infamy.

Rise of Hate Radio

You know what was largely responsible for that guy's [Matthew Shepard's] death? Those two guys who killed him did not go out looking for a homosexual to kill that night. They were shooting pool. He went to the bar. He left with two guys he thought he was gonna have sex with. He got murdered. How many women has that happened to? How many women have left bars thinking they were gonna get some action with some guy who raped and murdered and tortured and murdered them? Far more women than homosexual men have ended up dead that way, I would guess. Is that a hate crime against women? I think so but they specifically picked the woman who was willing to leave for sex. If Matthew hadn't been willing to leave for sex, he might still be alive. That certainly doesn't make him responsible for his own death but when you put yourself into a situation of going off to have anonymous sex with people you meet at a bar, what kind of person is gonna leave with you? Usually scum.... This was a terrible tragedy but it's also one that might have been avoided if he had simply gone home with his friends instead of thinking he was gonna get a little."

-Dr. Laura Schlessinger (Transcript, 1999)

To many in America, to deny "hate" would be to deny one's constitutional rights. Therefore, some might say that the development of an industry definition or a policy on curtailing hate speech would not only seem futile but unconstitutional. On occasion, individual radio stations have attempted to negotiate hate speech policies with individuals or community groups that have complained about the accuracy and fairness of broadcast content. Yet, the debate on hate speech is not unique to the U.S. Radio Netherlands Media Network (2000) broadly defines hate radio as "encouraging violent activities, tension or hatred between races, ethnic, or social groups, or countries for political goals and/or to foster conflict offering one-side and biased views as opinions." Hate radio is a form of propaganda, and by its very political nature devoid of an accurate and balanced presentation of the issues and alternative sources of information ("Media Network," 2000).

Moreover, hate radio is not a new phenomenon. The "father of hate radio" was Charles Coughlin, a Canadian Roman Catholic priest, who aired anti-Semitic broadcasts every week on the Columbia Broadcast System (CBS) network in the U.S. during the 1930s (Warren, 1996; "Canadian radio," 2000). The FCC has only "symbolically"

addressed discrimination and hate speech toward racial, ethnic, and other special interest groups, in essence with little major change to the U.S. broadcasting infrastructure (Fife, 1987, p. 488). The dilemma is that federal law does not prohibit epithets and the Bill of Rights protects freedom of speech. Local authorities may take action if language appears to instigate violence, but in many cases the FCC has failed to find any "clear and present danger of imminent violence"[Anti-Defamation League of B'Nai B'Rith v. FCC 403 F 2d 169 (1969); Brandenburg v. Ohio, 395, U.S. 444 (1969); Julian Bond, 69 FCC 2d 943 (1978).] Even despite reports of bomb threats during one incident [Letter to Lonnie King, 36 FCC 2d 636] and numerous attempts by community leaders to regulate hate speech, the FCC has refrained from action against these stations (Fink, 1990).

Since 1989, the FCC has fined a number of highly rated talk shows for airing sexually explicit material (Flint, 1993a; Flint, 1993b; Samoriski, Huffman, & Trauth, 1995). Other content matters, such as the broadcast of epithets, are more likely to be challenged by special interest groups within the community, rather than by the commission. Reverend Jesse Jackson called for an advertiser boycott of shock talker Bob Grant of WABC Talk Radio, after he aired racist and sexist epithets on WABC Talk Radio (Brady 1993; Gourevitch, 1994). The protest, however, did little to improve the politically incorrect nature of Grant's show ("Jackson," 1994). On another occasion, a gay rights group protested controversial statements about gays and minorities outside the studios of Hot Talk KSFO in San Francisco ("Protesters'," 1994). Again, the media coverage actually helped promote the antics of the shock jock personalities.

Another case involved a state-wide effort to halt the rise in hate crimes. In this instance, a Minnesota state law banned symbols that provoked "anger, alarm, or resentment in others on the basis of race, color, creed, religion or gender" [R.A.V. v. City of St. Paul, Minnesota, 112 SCT 2541 (1992)]. In June 1992, the Supreme Court struck down the state law in an effort to classify "hate" speech as protected First Amendment activity. The Court concluded that the government is not allowed to silence speech on the basis of comment [R.A.V. v. City of St. Paul, Minnesota 112 SCT 2538 (1992)]. *St. Louis Journalism Review* columnist Dan Hellinger (1993a) wrote that the

print media have a responsibility to "monitor and expose racism" in radio, but added that the ultimate responsibility is "with the public and advertisers" (p. 1).

Hellinger's commentary came at a time when St. Louis was divided over an racial epithet incident. One of the main hosts of the "Steve Shannon & D.C. Chymes" show at contemporary hit WKBQ-FM verbally bashed an African-American caller during a discussion on affirmative action, and said "nigger" seven times in a matter of 30 seconds. As the show continued, Shannon and Chymes told another female caller, who called into complain about their remarks on lesbians and African Americans that she had "fantasies about [singer] Whitney Houston" (Yearwood, 1993a). Over the next couple of days, listeners called into the show - some to complain and others to congratulate the deejays. During this time, "Steve & D.C." aired a phone call from a man who said that he had been discriminated by a Korean employer. The deejays mimicked an Asian accent, and then they closed the show by asking the news director Kim Furlow, alias Madame Kutchie, "to close her legs and say goodbye" (Hellinger, 1993b, p. 10.) The two deejays were fired one week after the incident and after the station had lost $50,000 in advertising support, but they returned to St. Louis airwaves only 18 months later with a cleaned up version of their show. In addition, a local independent station dropped the duo as the hosts of "The Cosby Show" (Freeman, 1993; Yearwood, 1993b).

The Larger Issue of Shock Radio

Some of the early shock jocks pulled hoaxes on their listeners, while others pushed forward the limits of indecency. As early as the 1950s with the emergence of rock-n-roll, young audiences applauded the antics of local radio personalities who attempted to outshock their on-air competitors with crude and risque jokes and "unmentionable things" (Smith, 1989, p. 222):

> Restricted to the top-forty format, they relied more on their wits and quickness than on music for entertainment. If possible, they became even more of the show. Hyper-talk and gimmickry became the focus. (Smith, 1989, p. 226)

Dick Biondi, George Lorenz, and The Wolfman were some of the first "shock" jocks in the 1960s, with "triple and quadruple entendres" (Smith, 1989, p. 268) routinely aired on the radio. Subsequently, in an effort to protect its family airwaves, American Broadcasting Company (ABC) forced radio personalities to comply to a contractual clause holding them liable for their ad libs. WABC's Dan Ingram was one of those free spirits who pushed the boundaries of decency, paving the way for other radio personalities to offend audiences for the sake of higher ratings (Sklar, 1984).

By the early 1980s, many radio stations played the same hits. Speculators purchased radio stations, which were sold and bought for profit within months (Sklar, 1984). Seeking fast profits and large market shares, programmers bribed radio audiences with big cash prizes or car give-aways (Ladd, 1991). Still, many of these stations sounded the same. It was during this time that radio stations were forced to distinguish themselves from the competition, and some began to experiment with variations of the morning show format.

In the mid to late 1980's, audiences were captivated - sometimes offended, often amused - by the brashness of shock radio personalities who tested the boundaries of indecency and community standards. Radio managers, who had sought out ways to distinguish their stations from competitors, were rewarded with dramatic increases in their market shares (Ladd, 1991; Sklar, 1984). By the late 1980s, radio stations across the United States hired or created Zoo Morning Crews or similar formats, comprised of at least two men and a female sidekick who read a little news or maybe did the traffic reports. The morning airwaves on rock and pop stations were filled with sexual innuendo and often risque discussions of explicit sex. The FCC attempted through policy, but ultimately failed in practice, to restrict foul language to late night hours (Fink, 1990). Music intensive stations began to find it profitable to limit or eliminate songs in morning drive and instead woke up listeners to brash and boastful shock jocks.

As television talk shows began to attract large female audiences away from radio, full-service stations began to redefine their formats. Many stations added songs and decreased their news and public service commitment Talk radio on FM remained in television's shadow until the abolishment of the Fairness Doctrine in 1987. A wave of

talk radio personalities surfaced in large cities (Zerbinos, 1995/1996), and some of the most popular shows began to erode the ratings of music intensive stations. Indeed, talk radio began to boom in the mid-1980s about the time that shock talk personality Alan Berg was at the peak of his career. His controversially liberal views on sex, religion, and race led to his assassination by a member of "The Order," a group affiliated with the White Power/Aryan Resistance movement.

But it was "The Howard Stern Show" that sent out a battle cry against hypocrisy and blandness in American media and opened the gates of Hates, so to speak, unleashing a wrath of hateful epithets and lewd sexual innuendo (toward female listeners and sidekicks) across the airwaves, all in the name of entertainment. It was Stern that redefined shock and talk radio. His empire was launched in New York in the early 1980s, and it reached into Philadelphia by 1988. Although not the founder, Stern became symbolic of the shock radio craze that began to sweep the nation, and eventually small towns across America. It was the late 1980s, shock radio - with its juvenile pranks and sexual innuendo - began to include a heavy dose of name-calling and racial, gender, and ethnic slurs, and legitimized these stereotypes to its listeners. Following Stern's lead, a number of shock jocks, primarily white male, became suddenly popular - and unpopular - by injecting hateful epithets into their show. The targets were often women, gays, blacks, and other groups.

As this new breed of shock jock gained control of the airwaves, primarily in metropolitan U.S. markets (in what has been referred to as the post-Zoo era}, audiences became addicted to that "extra on-air juice" that began to distinguish the on-air competition from each other (Boehlert, 1994, p. 125). In Stern's case, his claim to fame was his "corrosive mixture of sexual innuendo, racially charged derision, and bathroom humor" (Wood, 1992, p. 24). As early as 1993, he had 16 million loyal viewers that tuned to hear him sling insults at gays, women, and ethnic groups. A Time/CNN Telephone poll reported that the majority of Americans believed that Stern was more demeaning to women (72%) and to blacks and other minorities (61%) than Limbaugh (41% and 34%, respectively) (Andersen, 1993, pp. 62-63). In 1993, Stern earned over 9 million dollars, yet that same year Infinity Broadcasting was fined by the FCC only

$600,000 for indecent material aired on "The Howard Stern Show." It was the "largest fine ever imposed on a broadcaster" in radio history (Flint, 1993a, p. 62) - but comparatively insignificant to Stern's earnings and the advertising revenue generated by his huge market shares in a number of cities across the U.S.

Stern's predecessor, Don Imus was well known for asking his female callers whether they were naked. By 1994, *Broadcast & Cable Magazine* acknowledged Imus as "The Thinking Man's Shock Jock." His dry sense of humor and sarcasm directed at mainly politicians and high-profile personalities became his trademark (Petrozello, 1994). By the mid 1990s, other shock radio personalities, such as Rush Limbaugh, G. Gordon Liddy, and Bob Grant, and a host of right wing conservatives had been unleashed on talk radio. In the ten years span - from 1985 to 1995, the number of talk personalities had quintupled, mostly likely due to the FCC's repeal of the Fairness Doctrine in 1987 (Mattussek, 1995). The problem, according to Reibstein & Springen (1994), is that these shock talkers - without any real obligation to their audiences in terms of accuracy and balance - are considered an important source of information to many listeners.

Stern's put-downs are now syndicated every morning to many of the largest and smallest cities in the United States. Similarly, talk radio hosts like Imus, Grant and The Greaseman have offended and excited listeners with their vulgarity, offensive language, and racist and sexist epithets since 1980s. "Greaseman" Doug Tract was a shock jock at WWDC-FM, Washington DC. He need an armed escort to his next show, after he remarked, "Kill four more and we can take a whole week off," referring to the legislation that had passed in 1986 making Martin Luther King's birthday into a federal holiday. Thirteen years later, Tracht was fired in 1999 when he said, "Now you understand why they drag them behind trucks" (referring to the Texas truck-dragging murder of James Byrd Jr.) after playing a Lauryn Hill song ("Shock jock," 1999). As a result, Tract caught the attention of ABC's *Nightline*, and appeared as a guest on the show March 4, 1999.

Five years earlier, Reverend Jesse Jackson called for an advertiser boycott of WABC in 1994 when Grant aired racist remarks on his afternoon show (Jackson, 1994). As the host of the highest rated talk show on New York's WABC, Grant earned more

than 7 million dollars in 1994 for a drive-time show that was blasted by his critics as "a Ku Klux Klan rally of the airwaves—cruel, racist, with hints of violence" (Cohen & Solomon, 1994). Two years later, Grant was fired by WABC after he announced on his radio show that he wished that Commerce Secretary Ron Brown was dead - in the midst of the search for survivors from the 1996 plane crash. A few months later, he was hired by Manhattan's WOR-AM and resumed his talk show, even as protesters clamored for an advertising boycott of his sponsors (DeRosa, 1996).

The Rise of The Shockette

Some of the first voices on the radio were women. As early as the 1920s, Halloween Martin hosted a morning show on Chicago's airwaves (Halper, 1991). By the 1940s, female talk show hosts - Mary Margaret McBride and Kate Smith - became popular icons to women listeners who eagerly tuned in for advice on children, relationships, gossip, and the right detergent (Lazerfeld & Dinerman, 1979; Poteet, 1975). Audience research indicated that 80 percent of the household purchasing decisions were made by women; subsequently the success of female radio personalities was often evaluated in terms of their ability to move merchandise (Marzolf, 1977).

Aside from a few notable exceptions like radio personality Martha Jean Steinberg who traded her homemaker show and apron for a fast paced rhythm and blues show on WDIA-AM, Memphis, the advancement of women into mainstream radio in the 1940s and 1950s remained fairly stagnant (Smith, 1989) with one spectacular exception. WHER-AM in Memphis became the first all-female radio station in 1955 - with women running the station in every capacity from sales to producing to on-air until the 1970s.

In 1968, New York's WNEW-FM created an all-female line-up of disc jockeys called "Sexpot Radio" (Associated Press, 1995a). Unlike WHER-AM, the short-lived experiment did little to eliminate stereotypical perceptions of women, but it did increase their visibility in broadcasting. Beginning in January 1979, WOMN-AM, Connecticut promoted itself as America's first women's radio station, although it was actually owned by a man. It aired news stories about women and one-third of its play list was devoted to female artists (Karpf, 1980). By the late 1970s, Sally Jessy Raphael had established

herself as a popular radio talk show host, offering relationship advice to a late night call-in audience, at a time when talk was just beginning to blossom.

It was also in the late 1970s that a large number of women were hired for weekends and nights slots—after women's groups had pressured the FCC to revise its affirmative action policies earlier in the decade. But radio was becoming big business and audience measurement was becoming sophisticated. Radio consultants—assisted by automation—had transformed the very nature of selecting and playing music into a science (Sweeney, 1975). By the end of the decade, community and Pacifica stations across the U.S. had challenged mainstream perceptions of women with shows like "Lesbian Sisters." Yet, the female voice remained a distant second to the attention commanded by mainstream male deejays pounding out the hits on AM.

By the 1980s, female deejays were incorporated into morning shows as news or traffic readers, and many would giggle on cue to the jokes and antics of the male hosts. But during this time, a number of women deejays were watching along the sidelines, and taking notes. Although one or two female deejays actually sued a male host for sexual harassment, most women just collected their paycheck every other week and said nothing. But things were changing in Rhode Island. There was a woman afternoon personality who had shocked her way to number one on Providence radio. Carolyn Fox was quick-witted and could be just as brash as Stern, who had not yet become a national icon. Robin Quivers was Stern's sidekick, and she was second in command to Stern. She listened, laughed, and shook her head as Stern shot epithets about gays, lesbians, straight woman, and racial and ethnic groups across the airwaves. But Quivers was no Carolyn Fox.

It was Fox and Stern that paved the way for future talk shockettes. In the 1990s, a handful of women deejays, some of who had been nightime personalities or sidekicks to male hosts, began to emerge as shock radio personalities during morning and afternoon drive. Denver's Caroline Corley, San Francisco's Darian O'Toole and Sara Clark, Detroit's Kelly Walker, and Austin's Sara Trexler became the new shock jocks of the 1990s (Carter & Schiffman, 1998; Martin, 1995).

Sexual innuendo and politically incorrect jokes aimed at men were some of the programming offerings. Corley, unlike Rush, talked freely about drugs, verbally attacked conservative politics and corporate America, and ranted about anything in the headlines—in between her favorite recording artists. In 1999, Liz Wilde debuted her tough girl image on Cleveland's legendary rocker WMMS-FM. Karin Begin (a.k.a. Darian O'Toole) has been credited as America's First Shockette (Douglas, 1998). Known also as the "Caustic Canadian Swamp Witch," O'Toole was born and raised in Nova Scotia. She worked at a number of small Canadian stations in the late 1980s before deejaying in New Jersey, Philadelphia, Baltimore, and Sacramento. In San Francisco, she would become known as Darian O'Toole - and to some observers, she was the female Howard Stern (Hinckley, 1998a, p. 2). Her on-air career was short-lived, with a brief (but lucrative) stint in New York City and a subsequent invitation to go back to San Francisco. She remained there for a few months until low ratings determined her fate.

Female shock jocks have become an integral part of programming strategy at many stations. Many of these female shock jocks tend to be white, politically left and more similar in style to Stern than Limbaugh. In contrast, male bashing is fairly common among this new breed of female radio personalities. Another shocker, Stephanie Miller, moved to Los Angeles in 1994, after deejaying at radio station "Hot 97" in New York. In Los Angeles, she worked at KFI and KABC, did her own television show for a few months, regularly appeared as a guest on "Politically Incorrect" and "Larry King Live," and hosted the Oxygen Network's "I've Got A Secret." She was fired from KABC in March 2000. At the time, her show was on more than 20 affiliates across the U.S., and her ratings were the highest in nearly all of the station's targeted demographics (Looney, 2000). Stephanie Miller, on her web site, claimed:

> The major reason for my firing was the somewhat racy content of my show. This from the people that brought you the black hoe promotion. (Miller, 2000)

She seemed to rationalize her firing with what she referred to as the "vast right wing conspiracy" theory:

> Here comes the vast right wing conspiracy part. This is a management so conservative, that not only was I told what words and sounds I can't use, but that there is no such thing as hate crime and that I do too many gay topics (huh?). Here is a partial list of things that were prohibited on my show: bitch, son of a bitch, bastard, pissed off, a-hole (not even the whole word), bleeping of swear words, open phones, having Rev. Fred Phelps as a guest, or even mentioning him or the word fag, having white supremacist Matt Hale as a guest, any remote broadcasts because "she can't be trusted with a microphone" outside the studio, a sucking sound effect, and, my personal favorite.....no farting sounds. You know when you get the "no flatulence" memo that your days are numbered. (Miller, 2000)

The female shockers often sounded just as rude and controversial as their male counterparts, and just as likely to rely on sex and profanities to boost ratings and publicity. However, none of these shock jockettes seemed to achieve the national 'icon' status as Howard Stern and Rush Limbaugh - until Dr Laura Schlessinger entered the talk market. She became the beacon of morality across the talk radio dial. She embraced Rush Limbaugh conservatism and attacked what she viewed as left-wing liberals and the moral decline of America, whereas O'Toole and other shock jockettes were part of a younger generation that grew up listening to Stern, Fox, and others like them on music stations. In contrast, Schlessinger presents herself as moral leader and has attracted the attention of a large loyal conservative constituency of female listeners seeking alternatives to the liberal mainstream media.

The Grand Mistress of Morality

The *Dr. Laura Show* went on the air in 1993[2], and within two years it ranked among the top radio talk shows in the United States. Five years later, Laura Schlessinger's number one rated talk show in Los Angeles beat out her competitors, Howard Stern, Rush Limbaugh, Art Bell, Don Imus, and Gordon Liddy (Looney, 1998). Her approach has been described as confrontational with a lot of "nagging, preaching, and teaching" and less than motherly at other times (Bernstein, 1996; McDowell, 2000). And as for any

[2] Around 1990, a trend toward friendly feminist talk radio with noncontroversial topics had only moderate appeal in some large markets (Hansen, 1992).

sense of compassion for her morally-challenged callers, she reiterates her mission as the grand mistress of morality, "This is not a mental health show, it's a moral health show (Bernstein, 1996). Her books, *Ten Stupid Things Women Do to Mess Up Their Lives* and *How Could You Do That?! The Abdication of Character, Courage, and Conscience* are both best sellers. In 2000, she wrote the forward to Richard A. Cohen's *Coming Out Straight: Understanding and Healing Homosexuality*, a book that promises to "cure" homosexuality.

Schlessinger is definitely the queen of tough talk, and it would seem that her relentless preaching would discourage listeners from calling into the show, and admitting to a moral lapse in their judgment. Yet, they do. She is the judge and jury for numerous daily callers that seem to thrive on negative reinforcement Not to be mistaken for compassion or sensitivity, Schlessinger introduces herself on her radio show as "my kid's mom."

> But Laura Schlessinger is no mild-mannered mother next door. This radio talk-show host is as outraged as Rush Limbaugh and as outspoken as G. Gordon Liddy--two leading voices of the conservative revolution. "Doctor Laura" is the personal, nonpolitical side of that revolution, a therapist who rails against anything-goes mores. From her Los Angeles studio, she frowns on live-in relationships, opposes abortion and blames feminism for turning families into an impediment to women's progress. Just two years after going national, she now ranks among the top talk-show hosts, drawing 10 million listeners a week over 290 stations. This month, she dethroned Oliver North from the afternoon drive-time slot on his home station, WWRC, in Washington, D.C. (McDowell, 2000)

Also atypical of the conservative mom image that she projects across the airwaves are some nude photos that surfaced on the Internet in 1998. In October 2000, one of those photos surfaced again on the ABC network's *The View* after Schlessinger made a derogatory comment about an advertisement that Arts & Entertainment network aired to promote the Barbara Walters' upcoming "Biography. When asked about her less than perfect past in a *Time* interview, Schlessinger simply retorted that she never said she was "divine" (McDowell, 2000). Her apology on her show went as follows:

> "Friends, we're going to have a little talk," said the family values champion as she opened her WABC (770 AM) show yesterday - three days after a judge lifted

> an injunction on the 23-year-old explicitly nude photos taken by a former lover…In my 20s, I was my own moral authority," said a contrite Schlessinger. "The inadequacy of that way of life is painfully obvious today. I have undergone profound changes over the course of my life, the most important of which is my journey from basic atheist to an observant Jew," Schlessinger continued. "My early experiences have taught me how much better it is to live by an objective and absolute standard of right and wrong ... And that is the hard-won wisdom I try to pass along to others as I preach, teach and nag every day on this program." (Schult, 1998)

Yet, *Dr. Laura* - the television show - born amidst controversy - struggled unlike its radio counterpart to find its identity from its inception. Produced and distributed by Viacom Inc.'s Paramount Domestic Television, the decision to halt production came March 29, 2001. Since November 2000, it aired mainly overnight in 29 of the top 30 media markets. Moreover, approximately 90 sponsors eventually dropped ads on her television show after a national campaign by gay and lesbian groups. On April 2, 2001. Dr. Laura made her first public appearance on CNN's Larry King Live, and blamed the gay and lesbian community for her TV show's failure. Only weeks later, she boasted of a radio audience of 18 million people, which she claimed was a 15 percent increase in first quarter ratings in a speech to the National Religious Broadcasters. Indeed, *Talkers Magazine* (2001) indicated that Dr. Laura Schlessinger's radio show had the second largest U. S. audience - with more than 14 million listeners - compared to top ranked Rush Limbaugh with more than 15 million listeners, and Howard Stern, coming in third, with more than 8 million. With a failed TV show in her past, and with the longevity of her radio career - as well as an accurate count of her listeners - a debatable issue among industry analysts, Dr. Laura's ability to capture a national radio audience is not a matter of dispute.

The Politically Incorrect Dr. Laura

Dr. Laura began her radio career in the midst of the super shock jocks - Howard Stern, Bob Grant, Greaseman, and others - that had already earned a reputation for outrageous ideas, stunts and offensive racial, ethnic, and gender epithets. She entered the national marketplace when women increasingly began to assume the reigns of morning and afternoon shows. She was a college-educated professional mother who began to question the moral fabric of America - during a time when many listeners were grasping

for quick solutions to moral dilemmas, and after Stern and his followers had already elevated depravity to a new level. In the case of Dr. Laura, however, the personal moral struggles of her callers became the entertainment. People tuned to listen as one by one the callers would lower their voices in shame. Her listener testimonials would serve to exemplify what was wrong in this country. And her ratings soared past the kings of syndicated talk. She is the anti-Stern (pro morality), the female Rush (i.e., conservatively right; family value-oriented) - and in the end she is no different from any of them - she is both loved and hated, and has been accused of fueling hatred and stereotypes all in the name of free speech and morality (or in the case of Stern, immorality). Her plans for a TV program met resistance by the gay and lesbian community, and their efforts encouraged sponsors to pull advertising dollars in March 2000 to protect their corporate image and to avert customer boycotts of their products:

> Those of us opposed to Schlessinger simply are informing Paramount and potential advertisers that sponsoring the proposed show -- while it is their right -- will alienate and disenfranchise millions of Americans. It is a specious argument and sets a dangerous precedent for Schlessinger's right-wing defenders to say her free-speech rights are contingent on silencing those who protest her. The accusations of censorship are even more absurd when one looks at the right-wing organizations pointing fingers. The American Family Association, the Family Research Council and other far-right groups that are masquerading as free-speech advocates conveniently forget that they did everything in their power to keep *Ellen* off the air when she came out. These groups attacked ABC and aggressively pressured advertisers to pull out of the show -- and this is their right. But if it's acceptable for these groups to protest *Ellen*, then why is it notequally acceptable for other groups to protest Dr. Laura? Can we say hypocrisy? ("Yes," 2000)

Indeed the battle lines were drawn on what was referred to as a cultural war (Buchanan, 2000). Schlessinger supporters protested outside Procter & Gamble headquarters with signs that read "MATT IN HELL" and "GOD HATES FAGS"("Video," 2000), after the company withdrew its advertising support for the Fall 2000 Dr. Laura TV show. Anti-Schlessinger protesters caught the eye of the media in San Francisco, Chicago, Boston, Dallas, Atlanta, St. Louis, Phoenix, Seattle, Las Vegas, Washington DC, and New York City. Subsequently, SkyTel, Geico Insurance, Xerox, ToysRUs and other radio sponsors

pulled their ads from Dr. Laura's show, after being inundated with complaint letters (Coalition, 2000). Even in the midst of this controversy, rumors emerged with regards to Schlessinger as a possible running mate for Presidential Reform Party Candidate Pat Buchanan:

> *USA Today* reports that Pat Buchanan is considering her as one of six possible running mates for his bid for president on the Reform Party Ticket. In addition to Schlessinger, Buchanan is also reportedly considering Republican Alan Keyes, Congressman Tom Coburn (R-OK), Oliver North, Teamsters President James Hoffa, and former Boston University president John Silber. Buchanan and Schlessinger would make a noteworthy, if not controversial, team. ("Dr. Laura," 2000)

Buchanan's positioning statement on his web page decried the need to wage a cultural war against immorality:

> In politics, conservatives have won more than they have lost, but in the culture, the left and its Woodstock values have triumphed. Divorce, dirty language, adultery, blasphemy, euthanasia, abortion, pornography, homosexuality, cohabitation and so on were not unknown in 1960. But today, they permeate our lives. The critical change has come in the attitudes of our elites. What our leaders once believed to be symptoms of social decline many now celebrate as harbingers of a freer, better society. What was once decried as decadence is now embraced as progress…What is needed today is the same awareness that finally hit the conservative men of America in the early 1770s. Loyal to their king, they had rejected the counsel of Sam Adams to rebel against him and fight. Finally, it dawned on these conservatives that they had to become radicals; they had to overthrow the king's rule to keep what they had. And they found in George Washington a conservative leader with the perseverance to take us to victory over an enemy superior in every way but courage and character. (Buchanan, 1999)

Not unlike Buchanan, Schlessinger continues to wage a war against immorality. And she is also in the midst of a daily ratings war against other shock talkers, as she attempts to climb to number one in the nation's top markets. Not unlike Stern listeners - even those who hate Dr. Laura tune in to hear what she will say next. The controversy even prompted the regulatory arm of the Canadian media to investigate the appropriateness of Dr. Laura's radio show, in light of its country's policy on human rights and first and foremost her misrepresentation as a "doctor:"

> The Councils are left with the uneasy sense that there is an understandable cumulative effect of Schlessinger's positions on so many matters which concern the gay and lesbian communities. The result of this perspective may well be that, while she does not herself advocate any of the homophobic hostility or, worse, brutality, which can be found in criminal corners of society, from her powerfully influential platform behind a very popular microphone, Schlessinger may well fertilize the ground for other less well-balanced elements, by her cumulative position, to take such aggressive steps. With the power emanating from that microphone goes the responsibility for the consequences of the utterances. ("Canadian," 2000, p. 15)

In a statement released in May 2000, The Canadian Broadcast Standards Council ruled that the approximately one million listeners of Dr. Laura across the 450 Canadian TV and radio stations must be warned of her "abusively discriminatory" comments on homosexuality in a public announcement during prime-time hours ("Canadian radio," 2000).

Discussion

Hate speech, according to the U.S. courts, is one that instigates violent acts. So hate radio in this sense fails to adequately define the shock talk craze, which has not inspired violent acts. However, a broader definition, as exists in Canadian broadcast policy, of hate appears much closer to the complaints and protests by offended individuals or community groups. In essence, hate radio, on a much global level, is a human rights issue in countries like Canada, South Africa, and the Netherlands. As such, these countries attempt to curtail hate speech before it develops into hostility toward or between racial, ethnic, or social groups. Indeed, the CBSC stated concern about Dr. Laura's insinuation that Matthew Shepard was to blame for his own murder ("Canadian," 2000). Her unproved assertions about gays and lesbians and her deceptive presentation as a medical expert indicated to the CBSC that Schlessinger failed to present an accurate and balanced show:

> ...the use of terms such as 'aberrant', 'deviant', 'a [biological] error', 'disordered' and 'dysfunctional,' which appear to have a medical connotation to them, is exacerbated by the host's insistence on describing herself as Dr. Schlessinger, when the degree which she has earned [Schlessinger's doctorate is in

> physiology] has no relevance to the opinions which she expresses. ("Canadian," 2000, p. 6)

With the syndication of national icons like Stern, Limbaugh, and Schlessinger, it becomes evident that the community perspective is lost amidst the consolidated airwaves. Robin Breedon, WPGC-FM (Washington D.C.) morning host, is an example of "peace" radio, as opposed to hate radio. Her decade of community activism in Washington, D.C., profoundly changed the lives of African American listeners and the larger community - while at the same time winning the ratings war against her white male shock talk competitors (Stern and Tract). (Rosenfeld, 1991)

But there is another issue of concern, and specifically relevant to American media, and that is the question of a double standard for female shock talkers. Schlessinger is by no means June Cleaver, and far from the soft-spoken nationally syndicated nightime host and advisor to the lovelorn, Delilah.[3] ("Nighttime delight," 1998) Schlessinger's male counterparts - Howard Stern, Bob Grant, and Don Imus, and others like them, have built an empire on hate and cynicism. The irony of it all is that Dr. Laura, as a shock talker, might have been readily dismissed as another gimmicky talk show host, but as a mother and a degreed professional, the question is, "Is she held to a higher standard than Rush or Stern or Grant?" Grant was on the air for more than 25 years, and survived numerous complaints and protests about his hateful and prejudicial remarks - yet he was fired only once since 1986. The contracts of Rush and Stern will likely continue to be renewed, unless they decide to step down from their respective thrones. The show expectancy of Dr. Laura Schlessinger has yet to be written in broadcast history. Nevertheless, some observations might help clarify her role in the larger shock phenomena.

By identifying herself - first and foremost - as her "kid's mom," Schlessinger inadvertently may have defined herself too narrowly to the public. Stern is not viewed as a father, and then as a shock jock. His role as a family man is viewed secondary to his shock jock status. Rush Limbaugh, on the other hand, has defended traditional American family values, and put out a call to all fathers to assume moral leadership

within their home - all the while slinging racial, ethnic, and sexist derision at any attitude or action that challenges his beliefs. Yet, Limbaugh does not regularly refer to himself as "my kid's dad," but he has mocked Schlessinger's moniker.

Stern, Grant, and Limbaugh have all bashed gays, blacks, women, and a number of ethnic groups in the media, but none have received such on-going national attention as Dr. Laura. Stern has survived numerous complaints and FCC indecency fines. The day after the Littleton incident made headlines, Stern jokingly asked if the shooters "tried to have sex with any of the good-looking girls?" (MacArthur, 1999). He never apologized for the comments:

> His affiliate in Denver apologized for what was said. Stern never did, even though some of his fans said he had gone too far. In the end more people probably tuned in to Stern over those next few days to see what the fuss was about than at any other time before… For Stern, nothing is taboo. He makes racial slurs that would get the Greaseman, the city of Washington's popular on-air talker, fired five times over. That Stern's sidekick Robin Quivers just happens to be black allows him to get away with it. (MacArthur, 1999)

Schlessinger is a product of her shock talk predecessors within this post-Fairness Doctrine era. She is not all that original. Hate speech on radio has been rampant in the U.S. since the doctrine was abolished. Hateful epithets aimed at a particular group of people are not an innovative programming strategy in this period of broadcast history. So why all the fuss about Dr. Laura? Maybe, just maybe, someone who introduces herself as "I'm my kid's mom" is not expected to spread propaganda and hate. And while it is impossible to legislate kindness - and no doubt unconstitutional, it is not necessary for American advertisers to sponsor such activities.

But then again, that all depends on the image that advertisers want to project to the public. In the end, all ideas are part of the larger marketplace of ideas. Consider ABC *Nightline* correspondent Chris Bury's editorial comments regarding the actions of shock radio host Doug Tract:

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[3] The opportunity for women to relate to other women is also what made female talker Mary McBride so popular in the early days of radio. Delilah (no last name) has aired on more than 100 affiliates across the U.S. since the 1990s.

> … Ted Koppel pierced the mantra of Tracht's apologies to discover that the shock jock does not think he deserved to be fired … making clear to a national television audience that "The Greaseman" may still not fully understand how offensive his comments were to so many people. In a time when talk radio hosts are rewarded for "pushing the envelope," I feel strongly that reporting on racism and hate talk is responsible journalism. If that somehow "advances" the Greaseman's career, the fault lies not with the journalists who expose racism, but with the radio stations which profit from "shock" programming and the listeners who tolerate it." - Chris Bury (1999) *Nightline* correspondent ("Shock Radio," 1999)

So we might extrapolate from Bury's analysis that some shockers just don't get the big picture - nor the idea that we all have human rights and unequal access to the airwaves. If Dr. Laura did not fully comprehend how offensive her comments were to the gay and community, why did Paramount entrust her with three hours of national air time every weekday? Likewise, Stern has spoken for millions of politically incorrect listeners, who arguably become empowered to hate vicariously and anonymously through shock radio. Could Dr. Laura's defamation of gays and lesbians be a symptom of a larger problem in American broadcasting: the quantification of "hate" into dollars and ratings. Indeed, it is unfortunate that disdain for each other's diversity and humanity (by males and females) can generate high ratings and large profits for many broadcast companies and sponsors.

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The Making of Dr. Laura Schlessinger

Abstract

Since the 1980's Fairness Doctrine's repeal, the American broadcasting system has shifted from a model of objectivity to advocacy, with broadcasters asserting their rights to put forth their agenda. The distinction between news, information, and entertainment has blurred - all in the name of constitutionality, but more likely in the name of ratings. This paper analyzes the events that led to the acceptance - and rejection - of the moral platitudes of Dr. Laura Schlessinger.

On Equal Footing:
The Framing of Sexual Difference
In Runner's World

Marie Hardin
State University of West Georgia
Mass Communications & Theatre Dept.
1600 W. Maple Street
Carrollton, GA 30117
mhardin@westga.edu
770-836-6663

Julie Dodd
University of Florida

Jean Chance
University of Florida

Vicki Wuertz
Florida Southern College

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Abstract
On Equal Footing:
The Framing of Sexual Difference
In Runner's World

Although sports media has been criticized for marginalizing and excluding female athletes, running has been touted as a "uniquely egalitarian" sport by enthusiasts and by the leading U.S. running magazine, Runner's World. This research examines all editorial photo images in the magazine during 1992, 1996 and 2001. The magazine was found to provide adequate overall percentages of women in its photos, but to also perpetuate sexual difference in the way that it presented female runners.

On Equal Footing: The Framing of Sexual Difference In Runner's World

High school girls' track coach Ruth Conniff, in an essay titled "Awesome women in sports," writes that she often looks for magazine photos to pin up on the bulletin board in the basement locker room at her high school (Conniff, 1999). She is looking for images of strong female athletes to "boost the girls' morale…My hope is that it will reflect a picture to the girls who walk by it of energy and optimism and strength. Hence my hunt through magazines for inspiring images of women in sports."

But she continues: "They're not as easy to find as I thought" (Conniff, 1999, p. 52).

She describes her hunt through magazines like Shape and SI, where she finds too few photos of strong female athletes. Instead, too many photos relegate women mostly to the "leotard-clad rear end," relegating them to nothing more than "faceless fragments" (p. 53).

But another magazine, Runner's World, offers more, Conniff writes.

> Running magazines are clearly the best place to find the pictures I want. Running is a uniquely egalitarian sport. Female runners get coverage that is almost as good as men's (Conniff, 1999, p. 54).

What Conniff writes may be considered conventional wisdom. Women are mostly absent from newspaper sports pages (save the Olympics) and the pages of general-interest sports magazines such as ESPN The Magazine and SI (Hardin, Dodd, Chance & Hardin, 2001). Even in sport magazines aimed at women (such as Shape and SI Women, for example), the emphasis on traditional femininity de-emphasizes the "athlete" in female athlete (Hardin, Lynn & Walsdorf, 2002). Even in the general-interest children's sport magazine SI for Women, females are often sidelined (Walsdorf, 2000).

But a cursory glance through Runner's World, the largest-circulation running magazine in the United States, might provide a different picture. With a flip through the magazine's pages, it's easy to spot women. In many photos, women run side-by-side with men. Other photos depict female-only races.

Perhaps one reason for the presumed egalitarian coverage is because of the nature of the sport of running. Many races involve both men and women running together on the same course. Running is an individual, non-contact sport that doesn't involve athletic qualities traditionally considered "mannish" (such as strength); running also doesn't involve the heavy "aesthetic" element of some sports associated with women, such as figure skating. Perhaps, then, it could be argued that running has not been branded as a "gendered" sport, as have other activities such as football, baseball, wrestling, boxing and hockey (men), or synchronized swimming, figure skating, gymnastics or cheerleading (women).

Anecdotal evidence or conventional wisdom, however, can't support the generalization that women runners get equal coverage as men. Formal research involving media coverage of running is scant; RW has escaped the eye of gender and sport media researchers, for the most part. Just one study that examines RW exists, and that research was published more than 20 years ago.

Yet RW is worthy of study. The magazine, launched during the late 1960s, is the leading running magazine in the United States, with a circulation of more than 500,000 each month (RW media kit, 2002). RW claims a total readership of more than 2 million: 57.7% male, 42.3% female, mostly married and with a median age of 36 years old (RW media kit, 2002). That compares to a general running population of about 10 million:

53% male, 47% female, with an average age of 27 (Demographics, 2001). According to research by American Sports Data, the percentage of women runners has increased since 1999, up from 45% (Demographics, 2001).

RW runs often runs features and special sections aimed at its female audience, and touts running as a sport that has been "fair" to women – a sport that "will build your daughter's confidence and self-esteem" (Editors, 2002, p. 74). A recent article encouraged women to run because "Oprah runs" (Editors, 2002, p. 73). RW on women:

> [Running] embraced them long before Title IX came on the scene. Sure, women runners had to stage a few sit-down strikes, but they had far more problems with anachronistic rules than with their fellow runners. Heck, the guys were happy to be surrounded by women in shorts. This receptiveness has encouraged tens of millions of women to begin running (Editors, 2002, p. 74)

This research explores the assertion that the strongest images of female athletes are found in magazines such as RW, and that the coverage of female runners in RW is roughly equal to that of men. RW photos published during three different years during the past decade (1992, 1996 and 2001) were examined. This study gauges the strength of these images by looking at them through the lens of "sexual difference" – a phenomenon long criticized by feminist sport scholars. "Sexual difference" frames women as "naturally" inferior to men, physically and socially. Thus, it goes a step beyond stereotypes, which are generally recognized as social constructions (Duncan & Sayaovong, 1990). Modeled on previous studies that examine sexual difference, this study examines RW photos for the overall presence of women, their activity, their relationships to men, and other factors relating to sexual difference.

Literature review

An overview of gender and sport media

While research that focuses on running publications is scant (we found just one), numerous studies relating gender to sport media have been published, as media representations of sport continue to expand (Bellamy, 1989; Birrell & Theberge, 1994; Eastman & Meyer, 1989; Kane & Greendorfer, 1994; Sage, 1990).

The general conclusion of these studies, in regard to gender, is that the media continue to define and reinforce the hegemonic image that sport is a rite of passage for males; females are marginalized and sexualized (Miner, 1993; Davis, 1997). Sportswomen have historically been underrepresented and misrepresented in overall coverage, despite increases in their opportunities and participation; a number of studies reveal the disproportionate rates of coverage the media give men and women (Boutilier & SanGiovanni, 1983; Bryant, 1980; Kane, 1988; Reid & Soley, 1979; Rintala & Birrell, 1984). For instance, several studies of Sports Illustrated found that men dominate from cover to cover – in photographic images and in feature articles (Boutilier & SanGiovanni, 1983; Salwen & Wood, 1994; Lumpkin & Williams, 1991). This is especially significant because Sports Illustrated has been labeled the most influential sport publication (Kane, 1996). This trend is just as prevalent in other media outlets, from magazines such as Runner's World, Sport and Tennis (Bryant, 1980), to children's sport media (Duncan and Sayaovong, 1990; Cuneen & Sidwell, 1998; Rintala & Birrell, 1984), to daily newspapers (Miller, 1975; Woolard, 1983). Lont (1995) aptly captures the representation of women athletes in the print media: It is more common to find a story about a male who lost than a female who won.

The gendered nature of sport has also received considerable attention. Sport involvement is considered either socially acceptable or unacceptable for females, based on how each particular sport conforms to traditional images of appropriate feminine behavior (Kane, 1988; Koivula, 1995; Tuggle & Owen, 1999). A favorite frame is to provide more coverage of sports that emphasize feminine ideals of grace, beauty, and glamour, such as figure skating and gymnastics (Boutilier & SanGiovanni, 1983; Daddario, 1994; Duncan, 1990; Kane, 1988; Rintala & Birrell, 1984). Kane (1988) found that Sports Illustrated provided significantly more coverage to female athletes in sex-appropriate sports (e.g., tennis, golf, and ice skating) than in those sports considered less sex appropriate (e.g., basketball, softball, body building.) In addition, female athletes tend to be highlighted more often in individual sports, such as tennis and golf, than do female athletes in team sports (Daddario, 1994, Rintala & Birrell, 1984).

A number of studies document evidence that framing of women athletes also trivializes their athleticism and emphasizes their appearance and emotions (Fink, 1998; Kane & Greendorfer, 1994; Salwen & Woods, 1994; Kinnick, 1998; Vertinsky, 1994). Kinnick (1998) found that bias in newspaper coverage of the 1996 Olympic Games was related to frequent mention of marital status, attractiveness from a male gaze, emotionality of female athletes, and the assignment of stories along gender lines.

The under-representation and misrepresentation of women athletes is communicated through both text and photographs, with photographs considered likely to be more potent influences (Rowe, 1999). The power of photographs to convey meaning is already significant, particularly in sport. "They are not innocent records of events …sports photographs offer up an account of how the world is (or how the photographer

thinks it should be)" (Rowe, 1999, p. 120). Photographs are composed, cropped, manipulated and placed in such a way that they present a subjective message with a veneer of objectivity and "realism" in a vivid, memorable and "easy to read" format (Duncan, 1990).

The number of photos, camera angles, and the types of activity/passivity of photo subjects are all ways that photographs can be used to frame gender. Several studies point to framing of women as sexual objects and lesser competitors, and as more willing to display emotional outbursts than men in sports photographs (Outlier & SanGiovanni, 1983; Duncan, 1990; Duncan & Sayaovong, 1990; Ryan, 1994; Cuneen & Sidwell, 1998). A study of newspaper photographs of female athletes in the 2000 Olympic Games, however, found more positive depictions (Hardin et al., 2001).

The framing of women as "naturally" less powerful and capable than men has been coined "sexual difference" (Duncan & Sayaovong, 1998; Duncan, 1990). Sexual difference is a used to describe how media images can go beyond simple stereotyping; it connotes the framing of socially constructed differences between males and females as being as natural as their physical differences (Duncan, 1990). For instance, the presentation of women as more prone to emotional outbursts than males is presented as the "natural" equivalent to their also having larger breasts than their male counterparts.

Sexual difference in sport can be conveyed in a number of ways, including sport type. For instance, women who participate in sports considered "outside the norm" for females are often excluded or presented as "masculine" (Silver, 2002), while women who participate in "pretty" sports (gymnastics, figure skating) are held up as "America's sweetheart" (Wilner, 2002).

But sexual difference can also be conveyed in other ways, regardless of sport type. By their exclusion, women are framed as naturally less interested or apt toward sports; by their consistent presentation in supportive roles for males, women are framed as naturally less able leaders. When women are consistently presented in passive roles, they are framed as naturally less active than males.

Although it did not frame its research in terms of sexual difference, the one study that has examined images of gender in RW found the magazine "responsive to the female in sport"(Bryant, 1980, p. 37). Bryant's (1980) analysis of two issues of the magazine found that it presented females as sporting role models in both its advertising and editorial content.

Research Questions

This research examines the use of photographs, in relation to gender, in RW. This study's primary goal was to ascertain how women have been presented in the magazine during the past decade, and whether sexual difference has been used to frame female athletes. The primary research questions were:

1. How do overall depictions of males and females compare? Are numbers of women depicted in the magazine reflective of the running population in the U.S., and of the magazine's readership demographic? Are women underrepresented, which would support sexual difference?
2. Are women represented fairly in dominant photos in the magazine? Dominant photos command more attention from the reader. Are women represented in dominant photos in a way that suggests equality, or sexual difference?

3. Previous research has also demonstrated that sport media are more likely to frame women in passive poses than they are men, emphasizing passivity of women as a part of sexual difference. Is RW different, with respect to presenting female athletes as equally active as men?
4. Another aspect of sexual difference is the idea that women are "naturally" less competitive than men. Does RW accurately present women as competitors, or does it emphasize sexual difference?
5. Sexual difference also suggests that women are "naturally" prone to supportive, not equal, roles. Do images in RW frame women in a supportive, equal, or prominent role?

Methods

Runner's World was the sampling unit for this study. Editorial photos in issues of the magazine during 1992, 1996 and 2001 were examined. All issues were coded except for one issue during 1992 (August), which could not be obtained from RW. These issues were chosen to reflect five-year increments during the 1990s, a period considered to offer great progress for women's athletics in general.

Content analysis, a method that involves the quantifying of certain elements within a text, was implemented to answer the research questions. Through content analysis, relationships of the most salient clusters of images and information are gauged to accurately represent the dominant messages (Entman, 1993). Commonly defined as an objective, systematic, and quantitative discovery of message content, content analysis has also been determined as an useful way to examine media images of minority or historically oppressed groups (Stacks & Hocking, 1998; Dominick & Wimmer, 1991).

Frequencies and chi square analysis were used for analyzing gender portrayals in respect to the independent variables of photo dominance, motion in photo, competitiveness, and prominence in photo images. Competitiveness was measured by the presence of women and men in photos that depicted them participating in a race.

Coding instrument

A recording instrument adapted from the work of Duncan & Sayaovong (1990) was generated to analyze the photographs. The unit of analysis was each individual depicted in all photos. Artistic models (computer-generated figures such as drawings of athletes, graphic representations, and Claymation figures) were not coded. Photos of crowds, where individuals were difficult to distinguish, also were not coded. A total of 4,742 photo subjects (the unit of analysis) were coded.

The categorical variables used included: (a) photo domination (dominant or non-dominant, in relation to the page); (b) gender of the subject (male or female); (c) motion in photo (passive or active; mug shots were coded separately); (e) prominence of the individual (prominent, supporting, or equal); (f) setting (race or non-race situation), and race of the individual pictured (black, white, other or can't tell.).

Reliability

A critical component of the content analysis method is to ensure that the coding procedure is reliable, so that the data reflect consistency in the interpretation and application of the coding schemes and not the biases and/or interpretations of coders. Ten graduate students and a researcher for this study were coders.*

* Student coders were Laura Augenfeld, Nathan Baliva, Regina Capulong, Allison Hayes, Erika Hodges, C. Bradley Jones, Kevin Kepner, Kathryn Lynn, Nancy Parish, Rick Rhodes, Adam Roland, Brian Travers and Anita White. They were supervised by researcher-coder Julie Dodd.

Holsti's reliability formula was used to assess intercoder reliability (Stacks & Hocking, 1998). Inter-coder reliability was established by comparing coding sheets on identical data completed by different coders. The inter-coder reliability test took place before beginning data collection and resulted in a reliability score of 95%. In other words, all the coders coded the data sample data exactly the same 95% of the time before official data collection began.

Findings

Overall depictions

RW claims a readership that, while mostly male, includes a significant number of female readers – 42.3% of about 2 million. Beyond RW, females are estimated to make up a slightly higher percentage of the running population – almost half (Demographics, 2001).

Overall, depictions of females in the magazine during the 1990s are not reflective of the numbers of female runners in the U.S. population. Females are just 38% of the total images during the three years coded (1992, 1996, and 2001). However, examination of images during individual years shows steady improvement in the distribution of depictions (See Table 1). For instance, in 1992, just 35% of individuals in RW photos were female. In 2001, the number had climbed to 45% -- a much more realistic reflection of the running population. In terms of the percentage of females depicted, RW has resisted the idea of sexual difference, putting women on proportionally accurate equal footing with men.

Although national data for both gender and race is not generally available (and RW does not publish readership demographics by race), frequencies for females by race were tabulated to compare to the available data about running participation (See Table 1a). Of females in RW, the overwhelming majority (84%) during the past decade were white; 12% were black, and the remainder were non-black minorities or could not be discerned.* According to American Sports Data statistics for 1998 (the latest available), 72% of American runners are white, while 13% are African-American, 12% are Hispanic and almost 2% are Asian (Lamppa, 2002). Thus, the overall percentage of black women depicted in photos might be close to reality, but certainly the percentage of whites is too high, and the percentage of non-black minorities (Asians and Hispanics, for instance) is too low (unless females in these groups run far less than their male counterparts). No conclusions can be drawn about sexual difference from the race data.

Presence in dominant photos

Dominant photos, defined as the largest (or in the case that two photos on a page are the same size, the highest) photos on a given page, are important indicators of the prominence that women receive via visual images. Dominant photos may be interpreted by readers as the "most important" image on the page, and are designed to capture the reader's initial attention (Harrower, 2002).

A gauge for measurement of "what's fair," in terms of gender in dominant photos, could also be the percentage of women and men who participate in running. Again, while overall numbers for photos during all three years studied are not reflective of female

* Because of RW's international coverage of competition and its occasional features on runners who are not U.S. citizens, the terms "black," "white" and "non-black minorities" were used for coding and were deemed more technically accurate terms for race data gleaned from RW than "African-American," "European-American," "Asian-American," etc.

participation, the magazine demonstrated steady progress to make its images more equitable. While females made up just 34% of the individuals in dominant photos during 1992, they were 47% of the individuals depicted in dominant photos during 2001 (See Table 2). Thus, RW is moving away from depictions that support the notion of sexual difference.

Activity in photos related to gender

Of all individuals coded as "active" (unposed, in a state of movement) in the magazine's photos, the higher percentage during the 1990s has consistently been male. Overall, 68% of all active depictions have been of males, and 31% of females (See Table 3). As has been demonstrated for other variables, the percentage of females among individuals shown as active has climbed since 1992. In 2001, 58% of active images were of males, and 41% were of females.

A look at the proportions of males and females that were depicted as active is more telling (See Tables 3a and 3b). Although females have consistently had a better chance of being depicted as active than passive, their chances are not as good as those for males. Of the total depictions of women, 57% were active and 38% were passive. Of the total depictions of men, 66% were active and 29% were passive. Unlike with other variables, women fared worse in 2001 for passivity in photos than they did in 1992; men also did. However, the persistence of RW in presenting women in more passive roles than males frames female passivity as a sexual difference.

Gender in competitive roles

Photo depictions of males and females as able competitors were measured in RW through its use of race-related photos. Although RW is a general-interest magazine that

often focuses on health and fitness, it also includes results of road races and profiles about elite runners.

Of all photo images coded as being associated with a road race (or other running competition), most were of males (See Table 4). Of all individuals coded in association with a race, 66% were male, and 33% were female. As with other variables, the percentage of females in race situations rose steadily from 1992-2001, moving from 32% to 37%.

Males, however, continue to be more likely to be depicted as competitors than females (See Tables 4a and 4b). Of all images of males, 56% were race-related; of all images of females, 44% were race-related. 2001 was the first year that males were depicted in a smaller percentage of non-race than race-related photos; just 34% of depictions of women were race-related in 2001. 1996 was the only year that women were depicted in more competitive than non-competitive photos. Overall, these results suggest an adherence by RW to sexual difference, by the framing of women athletes as "lesser competitors."

Individuals in supportive or prominent roles

Individuals in RW photos were coded in terms of their relationships to those of the opposite sex in the same photos (if applicable). For instance, males in photos that included females were coded as in a prominent, equal, or supportive role, depending on their position, size and role in the photo.

The overwhelming majority of individuals coded were not in mixed-sex photos, leaving a relative handful to code for relationships within the photos. Of those, there were no significant differences between prominence and support, in terms of gender. In other

words, males and females in mixed-sex photos had a roughly equal chance of being depicted as an equal to, or prominent over, others in the photo. Thus, RW does not consistently frame women in supporting roles, but more often in roles that are equal to males in mixed-sex photos. Women, however, are more often depicted in mixed-sex photos than are men.

Discussion

This study finds that Conniff's assertion about running magazines – RW in particular – was mostly correct, with some caveats. Our general conclusions:

During the past decade, RW has progressively improved the numbers of women it includes in the magazine as participants in the sport of running, and has provided women a prominent role in its photos. Although women are not pictured as often as men in the magazine, they are pictured in a proportionately accurate way – one that mostly reflects the running population. This was not achieved, however, until 2001. The overall numbers of women depicted were also boosted through special "women's sections" that occasionally run in the magazine; without these, the proportion of women runners would have been lower.

RW also featured an adequate percentage of women in its dominant photos during 2001, including a higher ratio of women than men in dominant photos (women had a better chance of inclusion in a dominant photo than did their male counterparts). Again, this was not achieved until 2001, but the magazine demonstrated progress through the 1990s.

Although race frequencies were tabulated, it is impossible to draw conclusions related to sexual difference, because of lack of national cross-tabulated (or RW) data on

gender and race of running enthusiasts. It is safe to say, however, that of females represented in the magazine, non-black minorities (such as Hispanics and Asians) are grossly under represented in photo images. Although this isn't an issue directly related to the purposes of this study, the lack of racial parity for women in RW is an issue of gender parity that finds the magazine lacking.

Despite its inclusion of women as participants, RW presents them as "sexually different": as less active and as less likely to compete than men.

Although RW presents a proportion of women in its magazine that suggests parity, it also perpetuates sexual difference in the way in which it presents females. Although any female presented in an RW magazine photo is more likely to be depicted as active than passive, any male has a higher chance of being presented as such. No logical explanation justifies this difference.

Another difference in the presentation of men and women in RW photo coverage is in their presentation as competitors. During the past decade, males were more likely to be portrayed as competitors, while women were less likely to be photographed as such.

To be fair, it must be conceded that women might, in actuality, be less likely to compete in road races and other running competition than men. It is difficult to say; again, national data is scant. Women do compete in fewer marathons than do men; in 2000, 38% of marathon competitors were women (Demographics, 2001). But it also seems unlikely that the percentage of male runners who compete in road races would justify the high overall percentage of males pictured in competitive poses.

Another factor involving the percentage of photos that involve competition is the Olympics. Marathons and other mid-to long distance events, covered by RW, were part

of the Olympics in 1992 and 1996. That might explain the drop in competition-related photos during 2001 for both males and females; it might also explain the spike in such photos of females during 1996 (deemed the "Year of the Woman," in terms of the U.S. Olympic performance in Sydney). However, the Olympic years cannot justify the comparative lack of female race images in the magazine's photos.

Further research

Since this is one of just two studies that involve sport media that focuses on running, more research needs to be done before any definitive conclusions can be drawn about the "egalitarian" nature of media coverage of running. For instance, a study of newspaper coverage of track and field events or big-name marathons (such as Boston) might be a more accurate gauge of how gender is framed in relation to running.

Running is just one of a handful of sports that might be considered free from most of the gender stereotypes put on other sports. For instance, individual non-contact sports such as golf and tennis might also be presumed less gendered (in coverage) than sports such as football, hockey, baseball or even basketball. Research that focused on gender in coverage of these sports would be illuminating; the nature of competition for these sports affords the opportunity to look at side-by-side competitions (such as coverage of Wimbledon, where men and women are competing at the same time). Although a large number of studies have been done on side-by-side sporting competitions in the Olympic context, it is more relevant to look at sport outside the Olympic venue (Tuggle & Owen, 1999).

Of course, perhaps the most intriguing piece of this study (yet undeveloped) is the element that involves the race of photo subjects. While studies of gender in sport media

are abundant, studies that examine the role of race in sports coverage are far fewer; studies that magnify the intersection between race and gender in sport media are virtually impossible to find. Yet they are important, because without them, we cannot have a complete picture of the patterns and ideology behind sport media. Such an understanding is critical if we are to make significant progress in improving the status of all women in relation to media images.

Tables

For all tables, numbers are contained in parentheses: percentage (n).

Table 1: Overall representation

	1992	1996	2001	TOTAL
Male	64 (1122)	63 (1045)	54 (712)	61 (2879)
Female	35 (616)	36 (601)	45 (589)	38 (1806)
Can't Tell	1 (16)	1 (22)	1 (17)	1 (55)
TOTAL	100 (1754)	100 (1669)	100 (1319)	100 (4742)

Table 1a: Representation of females by race

	1992	1996	2001	TOTAL
Black	14 (84)	11 (67)	10 (57)	12 (208)
White	81 (498)	85 (510)	86 (508)	84 (1516)
Other	5 (29)	2 (13)	3 (19)	3 (61)
Can't tell	< 1 (5)	2 (11)	<1 (5)	1 (21)

Table 2: Presence in **dominant photos**

	1992	1996	2001	TOTAL
Male	65 (758)	62 (697)	52 (434)	60.5 (1889)
Female	34 (390)	37 (414)	47 (390)	38 (1194)
Can't Tell	1 (13)	1 (20)	1 (10)	<2 (43)

Table 3: Photo subjects **depicted as active**

	1992	1996	2001	TOTAL
Male	68 (736)	64 (1112)	58 (441)	68 (2289)
Female	31 (341)	34 (378)	41 (309)	31 (1028)
Can't Tell	1 (13)	2 (18)	1 (10)	1 (41)

Table 3a: Comparison of **active and passive females**

	1992	1996	2001	TOTAL
Active	55 (341)	63 (378)	52 (309)	57 (1028)
Passive	39 (238)	32 (192)	45 (264)	38 (694)
Mug shot	6 (37)	5 (31)	3 (16)	5 (84)

Table 3b: Comparison of **active and passive males**

	1992	1996	2001	TOTAL
Active	66 (736)	69 (716)	62 (441)	66 (1893)
Passive	29 (328)	27 (281)	33 (232)	29 (841)
Mug shot	5 (58)	5 (48)	5 (37)	5 (143)

Table 4: Photo subjects in **race-related (competitive) photos**

	1992	1996	2001	TOTAL
Male	67 (635)	66 (652)	62 (336)	66 (1623)
Female	32 (298)	32 (317)	37 (203)	33 (818)
Can't Tell	1 (10)	2 (13)	1 (6)	1 (29)

Table 4a: Comparison of **race and non-race depictions of females**

	1992	1996	2001	TOTAL
Race	48 (298)	53 (317)	34 (203)	45 (818)
Non-race	52 (318)	47 (284)	66 (386)	55 (988)

Table 4b: Comparison of **race and non-race depictions of males**

	1992	1996	2001	TOTAL
Race	57 (635)	62 (652)	47 (336)	56 (1623)
Non-race	43 (487)	38 (393)	53 (376)	44 (1256)

Table 5: Photo subjects in **prominent roles**

	1992	1996	2001	TOTAL
Male	67 (24)	37 (14)	60 (21)	54 (59)
Female	33 (12)	63 (24)	40 (14)	46 (50)

Table 5a: Comparison of **females as prominent, supporting or equal photo subjects**

	1992	1996	2001	TOTAL
Prominent	2 (12)	4 (24)	2 (14)	3 (50)
Supporting	10 (50)	5 (32)	5 (28)	6 (110)
Equal	18 (112)	27 (165)	25 (147)	24 (424)
N/A (single sex)	70 (433)	63 (380)	68 (400)	67 (1213)

Table 5b: Comparison of **males as prominent, supporting or equal photo subjects**

	1992	1996	2001	TOTAL
Prominent	2 (24)	1 (14)	2 (21)	2 (59)
Supporting	4 (41)	4 (39)	5 (36)	4 (116)
Equal	14 (157)	20 (209)	20 (141)	18 (507)
N/A (single sex)	80 (900)	75 (783)	72 (514)	76 (2197)

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